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VISITS TO TRANSYLVANIA

CONTENTS

- ✓ 1. Tayler, J. J. Narrative of a visit to the Unitarian churches of Transylvania. 1869.
- ✓ 2. Gordon, Alexander. Report of an official visit to Transylvania. 1879.
3. Chalmers, Andrew. Transylvanian recollections. 1880.
- ✓ 4. Ierson, Henry. Report of a visit to Hungary. 1891.
- ✓ 5. Fretwell, John. Three centuries of Unitarianism in Transylvania and Hungary. 1876.
- ✓ 6. Sunderland, J. T. Three centuries and a half of Unitarianism in Hungary. 1907.

cf. also J. A. Steinthal's Account of his
visit to Trans. (Christian Reformer, XV,
N.S. (1859), 177-89, 530-33); cf. Inquirer 6/25/59
and J. T. Bury in Unitarian Review.
XXII, XXIV (1885)

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New York

NARRATIVE

OF A

VISIT TO THE UNITARIAN CHURCHES
OF TRANSYLVANIA,

ON OCCASION OF THE

THREE-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST PROCLAMATION
OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AT TORDA IN 1568.

BY

JOHN JAMES TAYLER, B.A.,

MEMBER OF THE HISTORICO-THEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LEIPZIG, AND
PRINCIPAL OF MANCHESTER NEW COLLEGE, LONDON.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,

14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON;

AND 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

EDWARD T. WHITFIELD, 178, STRAND, LONDON.

1869.

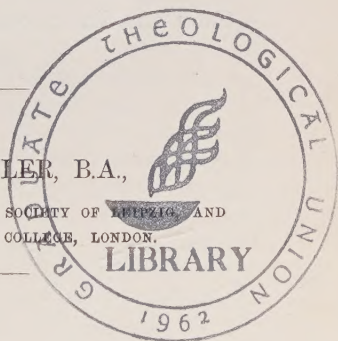
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FROM THE THEOLOGICAL REVIEW FOR JANUARY, 1869.

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NARRATIVE

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VISIT TO THE UNITARIAN CHURCHES OF TRANSYLVANIA.

IN the spring of 1868, I and my colleagues in Manchester New College received a very cordial invitation from the Bishop of the Unitarian Churches in Transylvania, speaking in the name of the Consistory over which he presides, and warmly seconded by the urgent request of some of our former pupils from that country,—to be present at the approaching celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of their Church, with the first proclamation of Religious Liberty at Torda in 1568. Circumstances prevented my two colleagues from complying with this request; but the occasion was in itself so attractive, and the opportunity of visiting a remote and interesting region, peopled from the very dawn of the Reformation by the professors of Unitarian Christianity, which under any public and organized form is a comparatively recent phenomenon in the Western world, seemed to me so little likely to occur again—that I determined, under the provisional conditions of continued health and strength, to accept the invitation. The British and Foreign Unitarian Association, hearing of my intention, requested me to be the bearer of an address of congratulation to their Transylvanian brethren, and to represent the English Unitarians on this occasion. A similar address was confided to me by the members of the West-Riding Unitarian Association. Both these commissions I very heartily undertook. Such were the circumstances under which I visited Transylvania.

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It will perhaps facilitate the better understanding of some particulars in the ensuing narrative, if I premise a very few remarks on the peculiar institutions and mixed population of Hungary generally—and on the past history and present condition of the Unitarian churches in Transylvania, its sharply defined and strongly featured south-eastern division, at one time an independent principality under sovereigns of its own. The Hungarians proper or Magyars, though they have given their name to the wide extent of territory which is enclosed on three sides within a natural boundary by the Carpathians, form a decided minority of the population of the country, which they share with races differing from them in language, religion and origin—Wallachs, Slavonians and Germans. Mr. Paget has marked the *habitat* of these several races by different colours in the excellent map which he has prefixed to his account of Hungary and Transylvania, and which exhibits a complete mosaic work, inlaid as it were in separate groups or masses on the face of the soil, though the Wallachs are pretty equably diffused as a peasantry through the districts occupied by the Magyars and the Saxons. The Magyars are an intrusive and conquering race, and till lately formed a dominant or noble class, enjoying political and social privileges above the other inhabitants of the land. This has been altered since the recent revolution, which has put all these different races on a footing of legal equality. It was the old policy of the Austrian government, by fomenting the mutual jealousies which this state of things produced, to keep the country divided and weak. The Wallachs, who claim a descent from the old Roman provincials of Dacia, and who like to call themselves Dako-Roumani, speaking a Romanic dialect closely allied to the Italian and Latin, were, prior to the revolution, in a condition little superior to actual serfdom. They were not indeed attached to the soil, *ascripti glebe*, subject to be bought and sold with the estate; but a certain amount of unrecompensed labour was due from them every week to their lord, and they could not remove to another locality without some arrangement for furnishing him with an acceptable substitute. He exercised a summary jurisdiction over them, with the power of imprisonment and of inflicting a certain number of stripes. They bore, moreover, with the corresponding class throughout the

land, the entire weight of taxation. By recent changes, they have been converted into a free peasantry, and the taxes are now levied equally on all classes. Education is slowly spreading among them; and they have journals in their own language, which often advocate, it is said, views not altogether in harmony with the objects of the present liberal government, and inspired, it is suspected, by the secret influence of Russia. Without great wisdom in the treatment of this susceptible population, danger may arise from this quarter to the steady progress of constitutional freedom in Hungary. These were the semi-barbarous people whom the camarilla at Vienna twenty years ago, to blind Europe to the true character of the Hungarian movement, wickedly stirred up in secret against their legal masters, and indirectly urged on to the commission of horrible atrocities. I was assured again and again, that if the present state of things, with the reforms now in progress, could be maintained for ten years more, so as to give the once subject races an opportunity of fairly testing the blessings of equal law, diffused education and peacefully remunerated industry, the cause of constitutional freedom in Hungary would be secured.

The Wallachs belong, I believe, exclusively to the Greek Church, of which there are two divisions—one acknowledging the Patriarch of Constantinople as its head, the other in communion with the Church of Rome. Of these, the latter is decidedly the most cultivated and intelligent. The Wallachs are a wild, fierce-looking people, with sharp aquiline features, and long black hair hanging in dishevelled masses over their cheeks and shoulders. On the whole, they have a striking appearance, and their women are often handsome. Their picturesque costume, and heavy-roofed cottages with an aperture in the overhanging thatch for the escape of the smoke, and their small churches surmounted by graceful little bellfries, furnish capital subjects for the artist, and gave the charm of novelty to several striking points of view in the romantic wooded district which we traversed between Grosswardein and Clausenburg. When we passed through that region, the Wallachs were busy carrying, in their rude waggons drawn by magnificent oxen, the materials for the railway which is now in process of construction, and which it is proposed to carry ultimately

beyond Clausenburg to the Black Sea—a work which, when completed, will have a wonderful effect in developing the vast resources of the country through its whole extent. As I looked one day on the grotesque groups of Wallachs reposing with their cattle at noon in the market-place of the little town where we stopped to dine, I could not resist the thought, how strange it was to see, as it were, the second and the nineteenth century brought thus into immediate juxtaposition—the representatives and possibly the descendants of the provincials of the age of Trajan, employed in carrying into effect the very last results of modern engineering skill.

The Germans, or, as they are called in Hungary, the Saxons, from a very early date formed settlements in the country. They are dispersed in small insulated knots or clusters of population all over the land, tenaciously retentive of their language, manners and customs. Their chief district is in the far east, under the Carpathians, and adjoining the Seklers. It is called Saxonland, well cultivated, and filled with an industrious and intelligent people. Hermanstadt, its capital, which I regret I had not the opportunity of visiting, is, I am told, in every respect a completely German town. The Saxons are, I believe, everywhere adherents of the Lutheran faith. The Slavonic races which are dispersed along the northern and southern frontiers of the country, are, with some exceptions among the Slowacks of the north, attached to the Greek Church. The rest of Hungary, exclusive of the Unitarians, of whom I shall speak presently, is divided between the Catholics and the Calvinists or Reformed. They form the richest part of the population; and to these two communions most of the gentry and nobility now belong. The Catholic clergy, I was told by an extreme liberal, are as a body tolerant and patriotic, and not at all infected with ultramontane tendencies. In fact, the common struggle for freedom has had a great effect in softening down religious antipathies, and causing the members of the four different religions recognized by the laws, to look on each other with mutual kindness and sympathy.

As yet, the Unitarians have not a single church in Hungary proper. They are confined entirely to Transylvania, or, as it is called by the Germans, Siebenbürgen, from the seven great fortresses which it once possessed, when it

had to protect itself almost daily against the invasions of the Turks. It is remarkable, that the most decidedly Hungarian district in the country, where the oldest and purest Magyar blood is said to flow in the veins of the inhabitants, should be at this day the chief seat and stronghold of Unitarianism. The Hungarians affirm that there have been three immigrations of Magyars into their country; the earliest under Attila in the fifth century; that of a tribe of the same race, the Avars; and the last and most general one, which spread the Magyars over the whole surface of the land. We slept one night on our return home, at a small town inhabited by people of Avar descent, who still retain some peculiar usages, and intermarry among themselves, though they speak Magyar and belong to the Reformed Church. They keep themselves aloof from the Wallachs, to whom they are said to be superior in manners and cultivation. As travellers passing through the town, we should not have been struck with any marked difference of appearance. The Seklers, who occupy the extreme east of the country, close under the Carpathians, claim to be descended from the immediate followers of Attila, and are not a little proud of the distinction. It is, I am told, a beautiful and well-cultivated region, peopled by an intelligent and energetic race. Here Unitarianism is in great force, defended perhaps by its remote and secluded position from the influences which have undermined it elsewhere. Its churches cover the land. Here is one of the three gymnasias, which are alone left to the Unitarians of the many which they once possessed. The Fő-ispan, or Lord-lieutenant of the county, Gabriel Daniel, a gentleman of very prepossessing manners and appearance, to whom I was introduced at Torda, is a zealous Unitarian, and has been a most liberal benefactor to the gymnasium at Keresztur, a town in Seklerland. From the same district come Bishop Kriza and his wife; and the pulpits of the Unitarian churches are chiefly furnished with preachers from Sekler families. I regret nothing more than that I had not the opportunity of visiting a district so full of interest.

It would be highly satisfactory to know more of the origin of the Magyar race, and of their beliefs and manners when heathens. Some think there was a predisposition in them from the first to a grand and simple monotheism; and that,

like the ancient Germans, they had already thrown off the thralldom of some of their original superstitions, when they came in contact with Christendom. Their speech is unique among the languages of Europe, connected only by a few slight affinities with the Finnish and the Turkish. Those who have studied it, say that it possesses great power and expressiveness. To the ear it is rich and sonorous. To judge from their facility of extemporaneous utterance, the people seem born orators. The words flow in a full and gushing stream from their lips without hindrance or hesitation; while their animated action and dark flashing eyes render their eloquence impressive even to those who cannot follow its sense. The question, whence they came and where the roots of their mysterious language are to be found, is already stimulating the researches of their scholars. An enthusiastic Magyar, disguised as a dervish and helped by a marvellous mastery of Asiatic dialects, penetrated some years ago, at the constant risk of his life, into the very heart of central Asia, to investigate this ethnological problem, but returned, I believe, without completely solving it. Bishop Kriza's favourite researches point in the same direction, though they do not carry him quite so far. He has been employed for years in collecting the remains of the popular poetry and legends of his native Seklerland, and he enjoys a high reputation among his countrymen as a writer on such subjects. The first volume of a work published a few years ago, with the alluring title, "Wild Roses," he has kindly presented to the Library of Manchester New College; and I trust that ere long we may have access to its contents through the medium of some German, French or English translation.*

With respect to the early conversion of the Magyars to Christianity, I was requested by my friend Mr. Samuel Sharpe to inquire, if there was ground for believing that George of Cappadocia, the Arian, (sometimes identified with the patron saint of England,†) had contributed to bring about that event. I could not find that there was any evidence pointing to such a conclusion. I observed, indeed,

* Its full title is, "Wild Roses; a Collection of Ancient Popular Poetry of the Sekler People. Collected and edited by John Kriza. 1st vol. Klausenburg, 1863."

† See Gibbon, ch. xxiii., with Dean Milman's note.

on the tympanum of the western porch of the principal church in Clausenburg (an elegant Gothic structure, once possessed by the Unitarians) a spirited bas-relief representing a conflict between some saint or hero and a monster, and it occurred to me that this might be St. George. On inquiry, however, I found it was the archangel Michael, who in Catholic times was regarded as the tutelary saint of Transylvania, and to whom many other churches in that country are dedicated.* It seems to me on general grounds highly improbable, that George of Cappadocia could have had anything to do with the conversion of the Magyars. He belongs to the fourth century, when Arianism, as the religion of the court, was fashionable and dominant. Attila did not invade Europe till the fifth, when the reign of Arianism was already over. Moreover, the Hungarians continued heathens for five hundred years after this time. Their general conversion dates, if I mistake not, from the tenth century, when they became the objects of a competitive proselytism from the Greek and Roman Churches. George, after all, Arian as he was, and saint as he may have been, was not a very respectable personage; and for the credit of our Transylvanian friends we need not, I think, be very anxious to establish any close spiritual relationship between them.

It is difficult to describe the singular impression produced by finding oneself among a people whose political sentiments and religious belief so closely resemble our own, but whose language is so entirely novel and strange, whose traditions carry them back to some unexplored depth of central Asia, and whose features bear to this day a marked oriental type. In spite of this difference of origin, the institutions and the manners of the Magyar race have a remarkable similarity to those of England, and for England they entertain a reverential regard. Their ancient institutions, though resting on a basis essentially aristocratic, are instinct with the same spirit of manly freedom which inspired our own barons

* I may notice, however, as a singular coincidence, that in the "*Scriptum Fratrum Transylvanorum*," giving an account of the proceedings against Davidis, and forming a part of the documents printed in the "*Defensio*," &c., mention is made, p. 248, of the Feast of St. George, as a day on which a meeting had been appointed: "*instabat festum divi Georgii ad quod partialia comitia indicta erant*." But as this meeting was hostile to Davidis, the supposed Arianism of George availed him nothing.

when they wrung Magna Charta from John. The *Bulla Aurea*, which, among other remarkable articles, contains a provision against arbitrary imprisonment by the crown, and authorizes armed resistance to its encroachments, secured the personal liberties of the whole body of their nobles or freemen as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, only seven years later than the famous meeting at Runnymede. With the growth of the true spirit of liberty, their patriotic nobles are renouncing their exclusive privileges. The invidious distinction of races is legally abolished. The peasantry are emancipated from subjection to the lords of the soil and relieved from exclusive taxation. The equality of all religions before the law is being proclaimed; and the release of commerce from its old bonds will be among the certain results of achieved and consummated independence. In the manners of the Hungarians there is a certain air of reserve and latent hauteur which is thoroughly English, and the unmistakeable indication of self-reliance and determination. Judging from those with whom I had the opportunity of conversing, I should say, the predominant tone of political sentiment was strong Constitutionalism, equally remote from American Republicanism and French Imperialism, something corresponding to the more liberal and advanced type of English Whiggism—with a revived and ardent loyalty, since the recent change in Austrian policy, to the person of the sovereign as King of Hungary, not as Emperor of Austria, with whom as such they profess to have no political relations.*

Unitarianism, our Transylvanian friends think, had probably an origin in their country independent of the influence of Blandrata. Blandrata was in every sense a bad man, whom no one would like to regard as the founder of any Christian church. His history is so well known, that I need not repeat it here. Francis Davidis, whom he so

* I met with a curious instance of their extreme sensitiveness to this distinction soon after I arrived in Hungary. Standing on the suspension-bridge at Buda-Pesth, I asked a gentleman who was passing, if the building I saw opposite was the Imperial palace (*kaiserlicher Palast*). He turned sharp round, and said, "Emperor" we have no Emperor; that is the King's palace" (*königlicher Palast*). I apologized for my mistake, and said I was an Englishman, and the English, he knew, had always had strong sympathies with the Hungarian struggle for freedom. He immediately held out his hand, and said with a significant smile, "I am a bad German" (*Ich bin ein schlechter Deutscher*).

treacherously betrayed and ruined, was an eloquent and learned preacher in Clausenburg, who had already passed through the preliminary stages of Lutheranism and Calvinism. The Unitarian question had already been discussed in Hungary proper, where it excited great interest. It was a disputation conducted by Blandrata and Davidis at Alba Julia, the modern Stuhlweissenburg, against the orthodox, which made such an impression on the mind of the young sovereign of Transylvania, John Sigismund, that he embraced Unitarian views, and was induced to issue the proclamation of general religious freedom at Torda in 1568. Some remarkable men appear to have agreed with Davidis as to the impropriety of praying and offering divine homage to Christ—regarding it in the same idolatrous light as the worship of the Virgin and the Saints. Among these were Somerus and James Palæologus, successively Rectors of the Gymnasium at Clausenburg. The latter was a Greek from Chios, of the imperial line at Constantinople.* He was burnt at Rome for his opinions in 1585. Blandrata was said at first to have entertained the same views; and he had united with Davidis in inviting Somerus from Germany to Clausenburg. It is interesting to remark, that in the earliest notices we meet with of the Unitarian church at Clausenburg, it is constantly associated with a gymnasium; as if one of the main objects of its founders had been to secure the continuance of sound learning, as indispensable to the growth of religious knowledge and the safety of religious freedom. The influence of the *humanists* of those days is distinctly perceptible in all these movements. It is supposed, therefore, not without good grounds, that influences must have been already working strongly in the popular mind in favour of simple Unitarianism, which the following circumstance is said to have brought all at once to a head. The people were assembled in the market-place, all alive to the exciting questions which in that age kept men's minds in a perpetual ferment, when Davidis, suddenly mounting one of those curious rounded boulders which may still be seen scattered over the face of the country, addressed the multitude with such earnestness and persuasiveness on behalf of the Uni-

* "Ex imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum prosapia satus." Sandius, Bibliotheca Anti-trinitarior., p. 58.

tarian views which he had himself embraced, that they hailed his sentiments with acclamation, and, raising their pastor on their shoulders, rushed with him into the adjoining church, which had hitherto been Catholic, but of which the Unitarians henceforth kept possession till 1718. On what authority this story rests, whether it is contained in any written document of the time, or is simply a local tradition, I do not know. It was narrated to me as a fact, of which there was no doubt, by some of the present Unitarian ministers of Clausenburg, when I was shewn the boulder from which Davidis is said to have preached ; nor does it appear to me in any way incredible. The boulder itself has passed through several migrations. It was removed from its original site in the market-place, to the house of an Unitarian gentleman outside the walls ; and thence it has been brought to one of the side doors of the Unitarian church, where I saw it, and where it is proposed to have an inscription graven on it recording the tradition of which it is the subject. Davidis, I need hardly say to the readers of this Review, differed from the Polish Unitarians or Socinians in carrying out to its legitimate consequences the doctrine of the simple humanity of Jesus Christ, and denying that religious worship could properly be rendered to a human being. For this logical consistency he incurred the malignant hostility and persecution of Blandrata, in which, unfortunately for his own reputation, Faustus Socinus, indirectly at least, joined. Davidis was suspended from his ministerial functions, and died in confinement. A great reaction followed. Out of two hundred and fifty ministers, only sixteen or eighteen stood firm by the principles of Davidis, and refused to subscribe the formula introduced by the influence of the Polish brethren through Blandrata and Faustus Socinus.* This is a dark page in the history of Unitarianism, which one would gladly, if possible, erase, but which serves to shew that the spirit of persecution, when motive and opportunity occur for indulging it, is not confined to any form of doctrinal belief.†

By the present generation of Unitarians in Clausenburg,

* Script. Fratr. Transylvan., p. 278.

† The following epitaph, purporting to have been written by Davidis himself, was given me by Bishop Kriza. It would appear from this that he was not thrown into the public prison, but confined within the walls of a private house. For the credit of his persecutors, we are glad it was so. The lines have

Davidis's name is held in profound veneration. They look up to him as the real founder of their church. His works, both in Latin and in Hungarian, which are becoming rare, are hunted up with great eagerness, and are said by those who have studied them, to contain some very advanced views, quite in anticipation of the present day. For myself, I am only acquainted with his replies to Blandrata, which are necessarily limited in object. He has, however, in these replies, effectually repelled the charge of Judaizing and

nothing to recommend them beyond being a curious and interesting record of the belief and feeling of the time. They breathe, as the reader will perceive, an intense Unitarianism.

“*Epitaphium Francisci Davidis, qui propter Religionem Unitariam officio suo degradatus est; Deve inter privatos parietes reliquum vite exegit; idque in marmore exsculpendum desideravit.*

“Servivi patriæ bis denos impiger annos,
 Integritasque mea est sæpe probata Duci;
 Nunc patriæ invisus: si crimen quæris, id unum est,
 Unum non trinum me coluisse Deum.
 Sic pietas crimen, dum non imitabile Numen
 In plures timui multiplicare deos;
 Dumque individuum ac totum sine partibus ullis
 In tria partiri religione vetor;
 Finitum immenso misceri et numen in unum
 Confundi sancte dum pia lingua negat;
 Dum veritus genitum ingenito exæquare Parenti,
 Qui sibi sufficiens nescit habere parem;
 Captivare meæ jussus dictamina mentis
 Dum falsum cæca credere nolo fide;
 Quod quondam evomuit petulante Sabellius ore,
 Dum pius infandum dogma recuso sequi;
 Dumque Infinitum, quem non complectitur æther,
 Virgineo erubui claudere ventre Deum;
 Hunc dum diffiteor vagiisse, famemque sitimque
 Infantem in cunis lacte levasse nego;
 Dum nego possibile, hunc diros tremuisse dolores,
 Et tandem infami succubuisse neci;
 Dum linguam temerare piam, dum falsa fatendo
 Ingenuam mentem conscelerare pudet.
 Asserui verum, et mysteria ficta negavi;
 Hoc scelus, impietas; hoc mihi causa mali;
 Hoc merui pœnas. Sera hoc mirabitur ætas
 Quando Deum pura religione colet;
 Quando omnis cedit cæci persuasio falsi;
 Quando superstitio vana relinquet humum;
 Quando Deum verum, non trinum homœusion Orbis
 Antiqua rursus simplicitate colet.
 Da, Deus, ut redeat prisca constantia veri
 Terrasque antiquum fas pietasque regat.
 Nunc captivantes nostræ dictamina mentis
 Errores, sanctam credimus esse fidem.”

221
Mahometanizing brought against him by his accusers. No one who reads what he has written, can doubt the depth and sincerity of his Christian faith, whatever they may think occasionally of the soundness of his scriptural exegesis. He has argued also most powerfully and conclusively against a duality of divine persons. Mr. Alexander Jakab, brother of the Mr. Jakab who visited England several years ago, and whom some may perhaps recollect as present at the laying of the foundation-stone of Hope-Street church in Liverpool, is a great collector of rare old Unitarian books, of which his library in Clausenburg possesses a considerable number. Out of this collection he very kindly presented me with an exegetical work of Davidis on the Bible, printed in a clear, firm type, at Clausenburg in 1571, which he described as *liber rarissimus*, and which, from its being written in Magyar, I regret I am unable to use.

Although I apprehend most of the present Unitarians in Transylvania, at least the younger portion of them, hold the views of Davidis respecting the worship of Christ, yet there was at first, as I have shewn, and so there has continued to be down to the present century, a considerable difference of opinion on the subject,—the majority perhaps till lately professing views more in accordance with those of the Socinians of Poland. There subsisted for a long time a close connection and constant intercourse, political and religious, between Hungary and Poland. The mother of John Sigismund, the Unitarian sovereign of Transylvania, who first proclaimed a general religious freedom, was a Polish princess. After the Jesuits had succeeded, in the course of the seventeenth century, in driving the Unitarians out of Poland, many Polish families of distinction sought refuge in Clausenburg, where they permanently settled, and where, till quite a recent period, they had a church of their own, in which the service was conducted in Polish. The descendants of these families have for the most part continued faithful to their Unitarian principles, but through marriage and other inevitable influences have been gradually absorbed into the general mass of the Magyar population. I was shewn in the principal street of Clausenburg, the spot where their church and school once stood. Bishop Kriza's wife is descended from a female branch of the family of the well-known Socinian writer, Wis-sowatius, one of the "Fratres Poloni." It may be assumed

that these Polish exiles would adhere to the peculiar type of Unitarianism which they brought with them out of their native country ; and as they were persons of culture and good social position, they would naturally exert some influence on their neighbours. It seems, therefore, in itself most probable, and this is confirmed by documentary evidence still extant, that the phase of Unitarianism prevalent in Transylvania down into the present century, agreed in the article of the worship of Christ, with proper Socinianism ; though it is at the same time not unlikely, that there were always individuals, perhaps even a congregation here and there under the influence of particular ministers, who adhered to the simpler and more consistent views of Davidis. A manuscript Confession of Faith, translated from the Magyar into Latin, given me by Bishop Kriza, and bearing the name of Michael Szent Abraham, of the date 1752, which, though generally regarded as apocryphal, the Bishop thought might be taken as evidence of the views of some leading persons among the Unitarians at that period,—opens with a complaint of the fluctuating and unsettled state of popular opinion respecting the articles of faith, so that many, it says, are Unitarians only in name ; and it proposes as a remedy for the evil, to set forth a general declaration of belief, which may serve as a guide to Unitarians through life.* This Confession requires belief in Christ as born of a Virgin by the Holy Spirit, i.e. “*ex virtute sive voluntate Dei,*” and as the author of all things in the new creation or regeneration—as having nothing in common with the essence, person or nature of God the Father, but still God in a simple sense, and worthy of adoration ; denies, on the other hand, the personality and the adorableness of the Holy Spirit, as being only the power or virtue by which God spake in the prophets, and still guides the faithful into all truth. It is mainly directed against the peculiar dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, denying original sin, the real presence, the worship of saints, the use of the rosary, and the absolving power of the priesthood—conceding, at the same time, to the ministers of the Unitarian communion,

* It has the form of an episcopal encyclic, and the title in Latin runs thus : “*Confessio fidei Unitariorum in Transylvania, quam Michael Szent Abraham, Superintendens anno 1752 suis asseclis hungarice hisce litteris encyclicis proposuit.*” ✓

the power of dissolving marriages and of granting to the parties separated the permission to marry again, "*quotiescunque necessitas tulerit.*" The persons to whom this circular is addressed are entitled, "*Honorabiles Domini, dilecti in Christo Fratres,*" and must have been, I presume, the heads of the churches or local consistories throughout Transylvania. When we keep in mind the present simple and comparatively humble condition of the Transylvanian churches, the somewhat stately style of the concluding paragraph is amusing. But it must not be forgotten, that the Unitarians as a body belonged then to a higher social position than now, and the old mediæval phraseology was still current. "This, then, is a true Confession of our sacred Unitarian Religion, which it was right to communicate to your Lordships (*vestris Dominationibus*). Wherefore, let your Lordships frequently meet together, and communicate it to one another, and imprint it on your minds, and firmly abide by it."

In a Confession of Faith put forth with the sanction of the government towards the end of 1782 (in consequence probably of the recent Toleration Act of Joseph II.), we find a similar article respecting the worship of Christ. "In his most holy name," it is declared, "we invoke the Father." "Him, as our eternal King and Lord, to whom the Father has given all power in heaven and on earth, we address with the supplications of a divine worship and adore" (*supplices divino cultu adoramus, et invocamus*). Christ, it affirms, suffered for our sins on the cross, and was a victim and a propitiation; but the chief stress is laid on imitating his example, and on obedience, of which the substance consists in the love of God and our neighbour, for faith can only become operative through love.* The short notice at the end of this Confession is interesting and instructive. "Such is the brief and simple Confession of Faith put forth by our ancestors, who did not hesitate to seal it by various sufferings and even by their own blood. In which if any one should seem to find anything wanting, we refer him to the source from which these statements are drawn, we mean Holy Scripture; for that we acknowledge

* "*Quorum*" (scil. *præceptorum Dei*) "*summa in eo continetur, ut Deo et Proximo debitam charitatem exhibeamus; Fides enim per charitatem debet esse operans.*"

as our sole Rule of Faith, clear and full, and containing all things necessary to salvation—the final standard and criterion of belief and hope and practice. The Old and New Testament we embrace with our whole heart and profess with our lips, and the Apostolic Symbol we follow with supreme veneration. Whosoever, then, shall affirm that we profess any other doctrine than this, we are prepared to shew in every place and on every occasion, with God's help, that he is both the subject and the cause of the greatest misapprehension" (*longe eum falli et fallere*). The same view of Christ's relation to the human race after his ascension into heaven, is more scientifically developed in the very clear and able Exposition of Unitarian Belief, published anonymously, under the imperial sanction, at Clausenburg in 1787, but generally understood to be from the pen of the learned Michael de Szent Abraham, whose memory is still cherished with profound veneration in the Transylvanian churches.* In this work, while Christ's nature is declared to

* Its full title is—"Summa Universæ Theologiæ Christianæ secundum Unitarios, in usum auditorum Theologiæ concinnata et edita." In a copy of this work presented to Manchester New College by Mr. Stephen Kovács, a Transylvanian, in 1845, the following interesting notice is inserted on a fly-leaf, which I here translate from the autograph of Mr. Kovács. "This work was the production of Michael Lombard de Szent Abraham, who was Bishop or Superintendent of the Unitarian churches in Transylvania from 1737 to 1758. The decree of Joseph II. authorizing its publication is couched in the following terms: 'The MS. forwarded to the government with the title, 'Summa Univ. Theol.,' &c., is now returned to the Transylvanian authorities with the remark, that its impression is the more readily granted, as, besides that this religion is one of those recognized in Transylvania, the tone of tolerant moderation pervading the work may well serve as a model for other religious writings.' Signed, Charles, Count Pálffy, in accordance with his Majesty's commands."—No obscure trace is discernible in this language of the rationalistic tendency of Joseph's own views. On the other hand, it should be noticed as indicative of a different state of things previously, that this work must have lain in MS. for nearly thirty years without obtaining permission to be printed, and that when it did appear, it was published anonymously. It is evidence of the danger with which such works were put forth, that they often make no mention of the time and place of publication. This is the case with the exegetical work against Trinitarianism of George Enjedín, who was Superintendent of the Unitarian churches in Transylvania at the close of the sixteenth century, and died in 1597. It was first printed in Transylvania, where it was prohibited and many copies publicly burnt. It was afterwards reprinted in Belgium; but in both editions all notice of date and place is wanting. In Latin, this work is said to be now very rare. I have a copy, kindly presented to me by a former pupil during my recent visit to Transylvania. A Hungarian translation of it is more commonly met with. In like manner, the Polish brethren, after their retreat into Holland, disguised the place of publication under a fictitious name. Irenopolis was their designation of Amsterdam.

be properly human, and his complete subordination to the Father is strongly insisted on, it is at the same time distinctly affirmed, that the man Christ Jesus is a true God and to be honoured with a divine worship. It is then shewn, that the word God is used throughout Scripture in various senses and applied with various gradations; and the whole doctrine is thus logically summed up: "In what sense the notion of divinity is applicable to any being, must be defined not from the term itself, but from the nature of the subject of which it is predicated; for predicates ought to be explained according to the nature of their subjects."*

The Transylvanian Unitarians, like their Polish brethren, were rigid scripturalists. Indeed, the Sufficiency of Scripture was the fundamental principle of primitive Protestantism. In the work from which I have just quoted, this principle is broadly laid down: "Whatsoever things are not contained in Holy Scripture, we are not obliged under pain of damnation to assert and do; but what things are contained therein, we are not at liberty to deny." In the licence to preach and administer the sacraments given to young ministers on their ordination (according to the form used to this day, as it was recently at Torda), the liberty to teach, explain and profess all the mysteries of the Christian religion, is expressly limited by the following condition, which I transcribe verbatim from the printed formula now before me, signed by the Bishop and the Notary General of the Consistory: "with the distinct understanding, however, that he is not allowed to recede even a hair's breadth from the recognized Christian Confession most clearly expressed in the Holy Scriptures, by employing any words or propositions of vague and indeterminate signification not expressed in Holy Scripture."† This restriction is itself again qualified and almost neutral-

* "Qualis divinitatis notio cuique competat, non ex ipso termino est definiendum, sed ex natura subjecti, de quo prædicatur: prædicata enim secundum naturam subjectorum debent explicari." (Pars ii. cap. 2, De Persona Jesu Christi.) This is acute, but does not exhaust the difficulty; which is, whether the *vis termini* in *Deus* does not of itself exclude the possibility of being predicated of the subject, *homo*. When *Deus* is applied to the Supreme Being and to any creature, though the word is the same, it represents an idea perfectly distinct in the two cases.

† "Ita tamen, *ne vel apicem* ab agnita et in Scripturis Sacris clarissime expressa confessione Christiana eidem recedere fas sit, adhibendo voces vel propositiones vagæ et indeterminatæ significationis in Scriptura Sacra non expressas." The italics are mine.

ized by the appeal to Reason as the final judge, in the following terms: "All controversies must be brought to the supreme standard of Holy Scripture; but to decide on these controversies and to interpret Scripture, is the function of Reason as judge." (Procem. § xlviii.) Moreover, a vague latitude of interpretation is opened in the following article: "Neither is the whole truth always the true sense of Scripture. Every truth is not everywhere expressed; nor does any passage of Scripture taken at will, prove every kind of truth. The words of Scripture have only that sense which God, the supreme Interpreter, intended them to have."* The attempt to reconcile incompatible conditions, the recognition of an authoritative Scripture on one hand, and the acknowledgment of Reason as final judge on the other, has been a constant snare to Protestantism; and the inconsequentialities and forced interpretations to which it inevitably leads, are conspicuous not only in the general controversy of the earlier Unitarians with their orthodox opponents, but also not unfrequently in the narrower ground of argument taken by Davidis and his followers against the Polish Socinians.

In this somewhat vague and fluctuating form, only imperfectly defined by the Confessions and Declarations to which I have just referred, Unitarianism has prolonged its existence in Transylvania to the present day. It first acquired a legal existence under the general proclamation of religious freedom put forth by John Sigismund, himself an Unitarian, at Torda in 1568. It subsequently acquired a distinct place among the four recognized religions of Transylvania, by the various capitulations, edicts and rescripts of successive princes, kings and emperors.† Though their legal *status* has never been formally taken from them, the Unitarians of Transylvania have constantly had great difficulty in maintaining it. Though nominally equal, they have been depressed and discouraged beyond any of the

* "Neque omnis veritas semper est verus Scripturæ sensus; non omne verum ubique dicitur, nec quivis Scripturæ locus quæcumque veritatem probat: verba Scripturæ cum tantum habent sensum quem summus interpretes Deus voluit esse." (Ibid. § xlv.)

† These, with accompanying dates, are enumerated on the margin of the first page of the "Confessio," put forth with the sanction of the government in 1782, to which I have already alluded.

other religions of the country. Always an object of suspicion and jealousy, especially whenever the Jesuits acquired influence in the government, they seem nevertheless at one time to have possessed weight, numbers and social position. Many of the native nobility, some of the oldest families in the country, belonged to them. The principal church in Clausenburg—an elegant mediæval structure—was theirs; and they had there, besides smaller gymnasia in different parts of the country, a gymnasium and a college conducted by men of eminent learning and supported by liberal endowments. A wood was pointed out to me in the neighbourhood of Clausenburg, which had once formed a part of their college property. Their gentry and nobility, like those of the Huguenots in France, were gradually seduced from their faith by the insidious policy of the Court, which never conferred any office or distinction on the professor of Unitarianism. A few have been proof against such temptations, and continue to this day faithful to the religion of their forefathers. On the road between Torda and Clausenburg, we passed a spacious chateau belonging to the Countess Bánffy, whose maiden name was Bethlen, and who is descended from the brother of Bethlen Gabor, an ancient prince of Transylvania and one of the strongest upholders of Protestant freedom. This lady still adheres zealously to her hereditary Unitarianism; but of her three daughters, who married Catholic noblemen, only one remains an Unitarian. The heaviest loss of the Unitarians occurred early in the last century. It had become the mistaken and mischievous policy of the House of Hapsburg, to introduce a complete system of centralization throughout the Austrian dominions, and in particular to make Hungary at once German and Catholic. The greatest obstacle to this design was naturally found in the Unitarians, whose principles, from their marked and peculiar character and their inherent spirit of freedom, were invincibly opposed to amalgamation with any orthodox faith. They had to be dealt with, therefore, in a very summary manner. Their church in Clausenburg was taken from them by military violence and given back to the Catholics. Their college and gymnasium were broken up by the sequestration of the endowments on which they had hitherto mainly depended for their support. A similar wrong was perpetrated at Torda. How they maintained their intellectual and spi-

ritual life under such heavy reverses, and in the face of a hostile government and bigoted priesthood, I do not know. That it was not extinguished is evident from the present state of the Unitarian body in Transylvania; and that the theological training of their ministers was not unprovided for, we have clear proof in the learned manual of Szent Abraham, which was drawn up specially for that purpose, and must have been composed in the midst of these discouragements.

The hard treatment of the Unitarians stimulated the efforts of friends on their behalf. In the chamber of the Consistory at Clausenburg, is a coat of arms with the name and titles of one of the greatest benefactors of the Transylvanian Unitarians. This was Ladislaus Suki de Suk. He belonged to one of the most ancient families of the country, which possessed by right of first occupation (*jure primæ occupationis*, something like a Norman descent with us) a large tract of territory between the rivers Szamos and Maros. His ancestors had rendered eminent services to their country as statesmen and warriors. He was the last male representative of his family. He was born at Suk in 1741, and completed his studies in the Unitarian College at Clausenburg in 1760. He led a very retired life on his property at Suk, and never accepted any office from government, but devoted himself to the improvement of his estate, and became the first agriculturist in his county. He never married, in order, as he has stated in his will, that he might leave the bulk of his property, all that he possibly could, to the persecuted Unitarians, to whose principles he was zealously attached, and in whose wrongs he deeply sympathized. He died in March 1792, and left more than 79,000 florins, nearly £8000 sterling (which at that time and in that country was a considerable sum), for the benefit of the Church and College at Clausenburg. Out of this sum the present buildings have been erected. He had two sisters, whose descendants are still Unitarians, and maintain a few of the yet remaining links which connect their body with the old aristocracy of the country. Two representatives of this noble family were present at the recent celebration at Torda. The great majority of the present Unitarian churches in Transylvania were built, I have been informed, since the close of the last century.

Some years ago another attempt was made to crush the

Unitarian interest, which like the former proved unsuccessful. On the insidious pretext of sustaining the respectability of the body, the Austrian government refused its sanction to the existence of any school or college, which could not produce evidence of the possession of what they considered adequate funds to support it in efficiency—well knowing that the actual resources of the Unitarians could not meet the demand, and hoping by this stroke of policy to close up for ever the fountain of their spiritual life. The consequence was an earnest appeal from the Transylvanian Unitarians to their co-religionists in England and America for help, with a prompt and liberal response from both those countries, which not only relieved the Transylvanians from their immediate difficulty, but has had the effect, I believe, of placing their whole scholastic system on a firmer and more solid basis ever since. This, too, was the commencement of a closer intercourse between the Unitarians of Transylvania and England, which I trust will from this time forth ever become more cordial and fruitful. It has led, among other results, to the sending of young men from Transylvania to complete their studies in Manchester New College, some of whom are now filling positions of importance in their native country. The old policy of the Austrian government (which has of late happily changed) was one of insult and annoyance. For some reason or other, the title of Bishop, which is given to the head of all the recognized religions in Transylvania, was kept in abeyance among the Unitarians.* The prohibition, whatever it was, has now been withdrawn; and the restoration of his ancient title to their ecclesiastical head was the occasion of great rejoicing, as an indication of recovered position and equal status with the other recognized religions. As a further expression of the friendly feeling of the present government, Bishop Kriza has recently been made a *Geheimrath* (privy councillor), which, though merely a titular distinction, unconnected with any function or emolument, has a value for the same reason that gave weight to the resumption of the title of Bishop.

Though nominally on the same legal footing with the Cal-

* In the Protestant churches it is equivalent to Superintendent, and, as Bishop Kriza explained it to me, means simply *primus inter pares*; that is, the Bishop belongs to the same order as the presbyters, or ministers of the individual churches or congregations.

vinists and the Lutherans, the Unitarians have been less favourably treated. The Calvinists, if I am not mistaken, have been allowed to retain their ancient endowments and are comparatively rich. The Bishop of the Lutherans, who embrace all the Saxon districts, and as being a German element have been fostered by the Austrian government, enjoys a handsome allowance of seven or eight hundred pounds a year, and an episcopal residence at Hermanstadt, furnished by the State. All this, however, has not worked pure evil to the Unitarians. It has thrown them on their own resources, and stimulated them to efforts which have quickened their inward life. Though they are the least numerous and wealthy of the four Transylvanian churches, I was assured by an impartial witness, that they are the most liberal and active in support of their own institutions; and that their clergy stand high, as compared with those of other denominations, for the purity of their morals, the simplicity of their manners, and their fidelity to their ministerial duties. As there is as yet no State provision for popular education in Hungary, the maintenance of its schools and colleges devolves upon each religious denomination; and where there are no local endowments (which at present are few and small), these have to be supported by the voluntary contributions of their members. This self-imposed tax for education falls heavily on some of the poorer class. To replace the heavy losses incurred a century ago by the Unitarians, benefactions are continually dropping in from wealthy and zealous individuals. I heard of several already left, and some more that were expected; so that, on the whole, I conclude, that the legal status and the social and financial condition of the Transylvanian Unitarians stands on a firmer basis and is more generally prosperous now than it has been for the last hundred years at least. In visiting the different institutions of the Unitarians at Clausenburg, one discerns the not obscure traces of a system conceived on a grander scale in more auspicious times, when the wealth and nobility of the country were on their side, and there was the possibility of their religion becoming under native princes predominant in the land. The College at Clausenburg still retains something of the ground-work of an University with its four faculties. Of these, that of Theology is now the principal; though Arts and Philosophy are cultivated;

and I believe there is still a school of Law connected with it. That of Medicine has been separated and removed elsewhere. Among other public benefits projected by the present liberal government, one is the foundation of a proper University at Clausenburg. This will of course absorb all the secular faculties, and leave Theology to the care of the several denominations. In that case the Unitarian College will become, what Manchester New College now is, simply a school of Philosophy and Theology, providing for the preliminary discipline of its *alumni* through its connection with a larger and more general institution.

Unitarianism in Transylvania, notwithstanding the simplicity of its doctrine and ritual, has preserved to this day some features of the old episcopal discipline. The churches under the superintendence of the Bishop are distributed into eight circles (*Kreise*), over each of which presides an Arch-deacon, who carries out within his particular district the more general supervision of the Bishop. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Unitarians appear to have had gymnasia in every principal town in the country. Most of these have disappeared amidst the persecutions and devastations to which the Magyar race, and the Unitarians more especially, were long exposed from the Turks and the Germans. Three only now remain, the principal one at Clausenburg; and two others, that at Torda, which last year had 164 scholars, and that at Keresztur in the Sekler-land, which had 173. In these gymnasia the pupils board and lodge in the school-house. The college and gymnasium at Clausenburg were built between the years 1793 and 1806, from the benefaction of Ladislaus Suki already mentioned. In the two institutions there are nine professors and ten teachers; four elementary and eight gymnasial classes; besides a three years' theological course. The salaries are very small, even allowing for the greater cheapness of living. Each professor has 420 florins per annum; the teachers only 70 florins each, but then they are boarded in the college, and are permitted to take private pupils. When youths have gone through their course at Torda and Keresztur, they pass on to the higher classes at Clausenburg. The teachers are for the most part supplied from theological students who have finished their course. At Clausenburg during the last year there were 298 scholars, exclusive of 36 divinity students.

At present throughout Transylvania there are 106 Unitarian congregations, with as many ministers and schoolmasters ; for to each church a school is always attached ; and there are sometimes smaller congregations in connection with the larger ones. The number of children of both sexes educated in these congregational schools amounted, according to the school report of last year, to 5032.*—It was under these more favourable circumstances and brighter hopes, that I was invited by the Unitarians of Transylvania to attend the Tercentenary of the foundation of their Church under a general proclamation of religious freedom at Torda in 1568. The interest and significance of the occasion will perhaps be the better understood and appreciated from the foregoing rapid survey of Unitarian history in Transylvania.

Accompanied by my daughter, I arrived in the last week of August at Grosswardein, a considerable and apparently flourishing town on the eastern verge of the great plain of Hungary, nearly in the centre of the vast space enclosed within the Carpathians. So far we had been conveyed by steam over land and water ; but at Grosswardein the railway abandoned us ; and I engaged a comfortable carriage with a pair of horses to take us a two day's journey to Clausenburg. Here first we distinctly realized to ourselves how far we were from home, and that we were completely among strangers. Our driver could only speak Hungarian, of which we understood not a word ; our route lay through a district inhabited by Wallachs ; and it was only when we came across a person here and there of better education, who could speak German, that we were able to ask a question or obtain any information. But the roads were excellent, macadamized as in England ; the country beautiful ; and if at the inns we roughed it a little now and then, especially in the arrangements for sleeping, yet the interest and novelty of the journey abundantly compensated for small inconveniences. We were glad, however, to re-enter civilized life, and look once more on the faces of friends, and hear again an intelligible speech, on reaching Clausenburg. We were agreeably surprised with Clausenburg. It is a clean, bright, cheerful-looking town, with well-paved

* I am indebted for these statistical details to the accurate information of my friend Mr. Benczedi, formerly a student in Manchester New College, and now Director of the Gymnasium and Professor of Natural Philosophy at Clausenburg.

streets, good shops, cafés and handsome houses, and a considerable portion of its old walls and gateways still remaining to invest it with a lingering air of former grandeur. In the winter, when it is the residence of the Transylvanian gentry and nobility, with its casino and its theatre and a lively interchange of private gaieties and hospitalities, it must have all the attractions of a small capital. Shortly after our arrival, we were waited on by a former pupil and a gentleman whom I had previously known in England. They had been expecting us at another hotel, where they had kindly prepared everything for our reception. They were soon joined by the Bishop, Kriza,—a man of beaming countenance and the most engaging manners and address, simple and unassuming as a child, but with that quiet unconscious dignity of gait and bearing which often accompanies genuine simplicity of character. He spent the evening with us, and we had much free talk on subjects of common interest. Our medium of intercourse was German. He gave us a cordial invitation to dine with him the next day at one o'clock; in the afternoon we were to proceed to the country-house of our friend Mr. Paget, twenty-five miles from Clausenburg, and five beyond Torda.

The next morning, accompanied by a former pupil and a friend, we visited the Church of the Unitarians and its associated institutions. The former is a plain and spacious building, with a lofty gallery at one end for the organ and choir, but wholly devoid of any pretension to architectural beauty. It was built in the years of depression and persecution, to replace the more splendid edifice which had been taken from them by the Catholics. It bears on its front the simple inscription, "In honorem solius Dei." The Gymnasium and College adjoin the Church, with an inscription over the gate, "Musis et Virtutibus renovatum." The Library forms a part of the same cluster of buildings. When I saw it, it was in a considerable state of confusion, being in process of removal to a larger and more convenient abode. Under the circumstances I could not very minutely examine it. It contains, I have no doubt, some curious old Unitarian theology; though the rare books in this department are mostly in the hands of private collectors. It needs, I should say, an ampler supply of modern critical works. The pupils of the Gymnasium and College, with their teachers, reside

for the most part in the academical buildings. We saw some of their apartments, which are plain and scantily furnished, but well lighted and airy. Attached to the Church is a school for girls, which was unoccupied when we visited it, but seemed well provided with the materials for effective teaching and was remarkably neat and clean. At the end of a kind of corridor is a door which opens into the chamber where the Consistory hold their sittings. It is a plain room, chiefly occupied by a long table of green cloth, with chairs down the sides for the members, and one at the head for the Bishop. It is hung round with portraits and other memorials of former bishops and benefactors, and of a few strangers, including the late Mr. Tagart, who have visited Clausenburg. Among the valuables preserved in the Consistory is a curious MS. written mostly in Latin, but with Magyar documents interspersed, containing a history of Transylvanian Unitarianism from its commencement. It was commenced by an Unitarian minister more than a hundred years ago, and was completed in its present form by another, the great-grandfather of Mr. Uzoni, recently a student in Manchester New College. As far as I recollect, it is a very bulky quarto, closely written, but in a clear hand. I was informed by Bishop Kriza that a transcript is now being made of this MS., with a translation of its Magyar contents, for the purpose of transmitting the copy when finished to England.

The bishop's house is close to the College. It is simple, but airy and pleasant. Indeed, the bishop, the pastor of the Church, and the professors and teachers of the College and Gymnasium, all live in the immediate vicinity of each other; so that the *Hungarische Strasse*, a broad and handsome street running down to one of the old gateways, forms a kind of academic locality. In the course of the morning we paid a visit to Mr. Ferenz, professor of theology in the College and head pastor of the Church, who enjoys a high reputation in Clausenburg outside his own denomination as a preacher. He introduced us to his wife, a simple, kind-looking, unaffected person, who entertained us with fruit and some of the splendid grapes from their own vineyard, for which this neighbourhood is celebrated. One of his children, a fine vigorous lad of about ten, recited to us a piece of Magyar poetry. We

then adjourned to the bishop's close by, for dinner. It was marked, as might be expected, by the overflowing hospitality which is everywhere characteristic of Hungary, but it was further distinguished in its whole arrangement by a simple elegance and good taste, which betrayed the influence of a presiding refinement like that of Madame Kriza, a very ladylike and agreeable person, who sat at the head of the table. The wine, of which *Ausbruch*, a sort of Tokay, formed a part, was served with a kind of aerated water, which is usually drunk with it, and forms, especially in hot weather, a very refreshing beverage. The party consisted of the professors of the College. Our common medium of intercourse was German; and this, though not the native language of any one present, was still possessed sufficiently by all to keep up a pleasant and unbroken flow of conversation. The Bishop, who is a man of wide general culture and of considerable literary reputation, is a member of the Hungarian Academy at Pesth. We did not sit long after dinner, but soon retired to the drawing-room, where, as is the custom of the country, there was a mutual bowing and curtseying on all sides, to mark the close of the feast.

About three we set off in an open carriage for Gyéres, the country-seat of Mr. Paget, well known to the public by his excellent work on Hungary and Transylvania—accompanied by the Bishop's son, who had recently been appointed to some government office in Pesth. We drove through the straggling gypsy suburb of Clausenburg, and ascended the long hill which commands from its brow a magnificent view of the town and its adjacent scenery—the broad vale in which it stands with the encircling hills, and in the far distance north and east the dim ridge of the Carpathians. The country through which we passed on our way to Gyéres was bold and varied, but somewhat bare, with a character which I think the French word *âpre* would well describe, anything but commonplace, not wholly unlike the somewhat brusque and independent bearing of its inhabitants,—a striking contrast to the rich luxuriant meadows, the tall hedge-rows, the slow-winding streams and soft-swelling turf-clad hills—the blooming and garden-like appearance of southern England. We reached our place of destination when it was getting dusk, and were welcomed by Mr. Paget at the door with that frank and cordial courtesy, which set

us at once at our ease and made us feel at home. He introduced us to his wife, belonging to one of the most ancient families in the country, born Baroness Wesselenyi, a name of distinguished mark in the annals of Hungary and Transylvania. Madame Paget speaks English readily, is well versed in the literature of modern Europe, and is herself an authoress. She proved to us the best of friends and a most sedulously attentive hostess. I cannot indeed too strongly express my grateful sense of the considerate kindness and generous hospitality of these excellent people. Without them, under a climate so peculiar and amidst manners so different from our own, our visit to Transylvania might have been far less agreeable and satisfactory than it was. We had moreover, beside the enjoyment of English comforts and the facility of intercourse in our own tongue, an opportunity of seeing something of the interior arrangements and mode of living in a Hungarian gentleman's country-house. For Mr. Paget, through long residence, his warm sympathy with the Hungarian struggle for freedom, in which he was himself a sufferer, and the connections of his marriage—is now completely identified with the native aristocracy, shares in their feelings and is interested in their objects. He belongs emphatically to the constitutional, as opposed to the extreme democratic party. Deak is with him the fitting representative and expression of true Hungarian policy. Yet with all this, Mr. Paget retains the warmest love and reverence for England, and continues firmly attached to his early principles and convictions. It was delightful to hear him talk in that remote land of old York days, and call up with affectionate interest the names of former tutors and fellow-students. We rested for a day quietly at Gyéres before the festivities commenced at Torda. In the interval Mr. Paget drove us over to his farm and vineyard at some distance from his house. He is exerting, I was informed, a very beneficial influence on the whole system of rural economy—introducing an improved breed of cattle, and paying particular attention to the cultivation of the vine, which he looks to as a great source of future wealth to Hungary. He has imported the finest vines from France and Germany, and planted them in various parts of his estate, carefully labelled as to origin and date, and placed under the superintendence of an experienced *Winzer*

from Switzerland,—with a view to notice the effect of climate, soil and culture on the produce. In conjunction with some native gentlemen, he has formed an association for the improvement of vine-culture, and laid out a model vineyard in the neighbourhood of Clausenburg. The wine from his own estate which we drank at his table, had a singularly pure flavour, as if not medicated with brandy and other ingredients by which wines are cooked for our market.

On the afternoon of Saturday the 29th of August, there was to be a public entrance of the Bishop into Torda, with a procession. We intended to be present and join in the reception; but from being misinformed as to the time, we arrived at Torda when it was all over. The afternoon unfortunately was wet; but the little town was all astir, gay with flags and planted fir-trees in the direction of the church, and parties were pouring into it from all sides in their curious old-fashioned *wagen*, drawn by two or four horses, to be ready for the festivities of the ensuing day. Every house, I was told, was full. It was an exuberant overflow of universal hospitality. Mr. Paget succeeded in procuring a room for us, in case of need, at the Post-office.

The next day we left early. On reaching Torda, my daughter was consigned to the care of the Bishop's lady; and I proceeded with Mr. Paget to the Consistory, of which he is a lay member. In the midst of the fumes of tobacco-smoke (for the Hungarian smokes on all occasions, festal and solemn, except in church itself), I was introduced to the meeting, and informed that I had been just elected an honorary member—a mark of respect which on former occasions had been conferred on my countrymen, Mr. Tagart and Mr. Steinthal.* As it was now time to proceed to church, the further business of the Consistory, with the delivery of the Addresses which I had brought from England, was adjourned to the latter part of the day. At the entrance of the church there was an immense crowd, with all that pushing and struggling to gain admission which

* The vote was accompanied by a diploma in Latin, sealed with the common seal of the Consistory, and signed by Alexius Nagy de Kál, "Supremus Curator et Sæcularis Præses," Johannes Kriza, "Episcopus Unitariorum in Hungaria," and Moses Pap, "Generalis Notarius." It is written in the usual style of such documents, but concludes with a very kind wish for my safe return to my native shores.

one sometimes sees at the doors of a theatre on some night of unusual attraction. By the strenuous interference of persons in office, a way was at length cleared for the Bishop and the visitor from England and Mr. Paget. The Bishop advanced to his place near the pulpit, and Mr. Paget and myself were accommodated with an excellent seat in front of it, where we could see everything in the church, and where I could hear every word uttered by the preacher, unfortunately without knowing what it was all about, except when Mr. Paget briefly indicated to me its purport. Beside me sate on one side, as I think I was told, a Catholic clergyman. The ladies occupied another part of the church, and in the front row, seated by Madame Kriza, I discovered my daughter. The church was crowded in every part, containing a pretty full representation of the collective Unitarianism of Transylvania.

The service commenced with a hymn composed for the occasion by Bishop Kriza, and sung to the Hungarian national air. After a prayer, the Rev. Joseph Ferenz, Professor of Theology in the College and the chief pastor of the church in Clausenburg, ascended the pulpit, and delivered in a most animated manner, without notes, a discourse of more than an hour's length, which was listened to with profound attention and evidently produced a great impression. The preacher's appearance was very striking. The close-fitting, braided Hungarian coat, which clergy and laity wear alike, and the black cloak with velvet collar thrown loosely over it across the shoulders, had a very picturesque effect. I heard high commendation on all sides, from Catholics and Calvinists as well as from Unitarians, of the large-hearted, generous and catholic spirit of this discourse. The Lord-lieutenant of a county, himself belonging to the Reformed or Calvinistic communion, expressed in my hearing his hope that it might be translated into French and German. The deep regret I felt at being wholly unable to follow it, has been in part removed by a translation of it into English by my friend Mr. Gabriel Uzoni, which he has had the goodness to forward to me. This enables me to place before the reader such an outline in a very brief form of its contents, as may convey some idea of its spirit and general tendency. Its subject was, Liberty of Faith and Conscience. Among the congratulations with which

he opened his address, on the happy circumstances under which they had then assembled, one was, that they had among them a representative of the Unitarian sons and daughters of England, "that mighty nation, first in rank among the free nations of Europe;" and then turning to me, he gave me in the name of every Hungarian Unitarian the welcome of a brother: "Take," he said, "our brotherly hand, free son of a free nation. Let this day be kept in faithful remembrance by every Hungarian Unitarian. Let it be to them a festival of festivals." A large part of the discourse was taken up with historical details, interesting and instructive from their novelty, no doubt, to many of the audience, the most important of which I have already briefly indicated. Under three heads, he handled with a broad and vigorous grasp the past history, the present state and the probable future triumph of liberty of faith and conscience. In treating of the first of these heads, he argued that the Reformation, though a great benefit to mankind, was still only a step in advance, and left a great work to be accomplished; and he then shewed, by reference to the melancholy history of Davidis, how imperfectly Faustus Socinus himself understood those inalienable rights of the conscience, in virtue of which alone he could claim any toleration for his own views.—Under the second head, he explained how the political movements of the last half century, following the great first revolution in France, had contributed to diffuse the spirit of mutual religious toleration. "Far be it from me," he exclaimed, "to limit freedom of faith and conscience to Unitarianism exclusively. I only wished to shew, by the example of Unitarianism, that religious liberty is really in a better condition than it was; that it has now struck so deep a root in the hearts of millions, that no power on earth can any more eradicate it; and that he who at the present day should attempt to employ a difference of religious belief as a weapon against his fellow-men, would deservedly draw down on himself the condemnation of the world. Indeed, it is high time that the last spark of intolerance should be put out; that men should be united to each other by the Christian feeling of brotherly love: it is high time that we no longer despised and persecuted each other, because one worships God standing, and another on his knees, because one has a cross on

his church, and another a weathercock : it is high time that we should no longer force our faith and opinions on others, but allow every one to form his own with that freedom wherewith Christ hath made us free, and that we should no longer venture to reduce any one under the yoke of bondage." Under his third and last head, the preacher dwelt on the universal diffusion of education, as one of the marked tendencies of the present day, and on the effect that it would probably exert on the future condition of religious opinion. He believed that in the free exercise of thought which universal education would encourage and facilitate, there would be a steady approach to essential unity of faith. It was the imposition of creeds that produced hostile differences in religion. What was the language of all educated men? "Whatever we may say, we all of us worship one only God." Whoever tries to devise a creed acceptable to all, is fighting against nature, which has not made two leaves alike. Give free development to the human mind, and await the result without fear. The final triumph of the liberty of faith and conscience will be effected by education. "If I am asked," he continued, "what may be the ultimate fate of our own form of Christianity, the answer will depend on our definition of the essence of Unitarianism. If we adhere obstinately to the articles of faith laid down by our forefathers centuries ago, regarding them as the *ne plus ultra* of perfection, which must not be touched, and from which we must shut out the freshening air of science and free inquiry, then, no doubt, Unitarianism, like every other religion which thinks itself complete and finished, will have to take its place among a collection of antiquities; for the essence of the biblical truths must not be confounded with the forms which they have successively assumed in the minds of different men in different ages. But if we regard Unitarianism as a strong and vigorous organism, full of life and capable of development, ever ready to admit new truths and constantly regenerating itself by their influence, and securing the spirit and welfare of its adherents by keeping abreast with the onward march of the ages, then I am bold to say, the future of Unitarianism is secured for ever, because it will take its stand on those eternal principles of reason, by which the cultivated portion of mankind must always and increasingly abide." "If," he concluded, "we could main-

tain our existence during three centuries of difficulty and oppression, we have no reason to fear now. Unitarianism, however some may call it a rationalistic religion, because it applies the principles of reason to Scripture, and others may say it is a dry religion without poetry, because we do not attempt to produce an effect by outward ceremonies, Unitarianism, I am persuaded, has a great future before it ; and my belief is, that those who shall celebrate this festival a century hence, will celebrate it with the representatives not only of the Unitarians of Great Britain, but of those of other countries."

At the close of the sermon, there was a celebration of the Lord's Supper. I think nearly the whole congregation partook of it ; the men first, and afterwards the women. It was a simultaneous expression of rejoicing, that they had survived with faith and hope unbroken, centuries of suffering and persecution, and had come by God's good providence to the quiet safety and freedom of that hour. It was a touching scene. I never before felt, as I did then, the holy beauty and deep spiritual significance of the few simple symbols which universal Christendom has associated with this expressive rite. There I stood in the front row of the communicants by the side of my countryman, Mr. Paget, unable of course to understand the words that were so earnestly uttered by the officiating minister, but attuned to seriousness by the quaint old melody that pealed forth from the organ and was chanted by the choir,—by the cup and the bread that were circulating around me, brought into silent sympathy with that faithful people of God who had clung to their honest convictions in defiance alike of the threats and the allurements of the world,—and carried back by reminiscences irresistibly borne in upon me, into a communion of the inmost spirit with that innumerable company of saints and confessors who in divers ages and widely severed lands, had through these same symbols given up their souls to God and devoted themselves to works of self-sacrificing love. I could not suppress the hope, that the time might come in our own country, when the members of different communions, in spite of their doctrinal differences, could meet occasionally to strengthen the bonds of Christian brotherhood, by celebrating in the presence of their common symbol, the Cross, a common feast of holiness and love.

We then adjourned to a very different scene. In a spacious tent near the church the guests assembled to partake, after the manner of the country, of some refreshment before dinner. A kind of light cake was served with different sorts of liqueur. Here was the motliest group of human beings I ever beheld. Plain farmers and rustic pastors from the Sekler-land mingled with lord-lieutenants of counties and nobles of ancient descent, all in their national costume, priests of the Greek Church in their black robes, Franciscans in the garb of their order, Catholic clergymen, ministers and professors of the Reformed or Calvinistic communion—all seemed to have laid aside their religious antipathies under the genial influences of the hour, and to be animated with one feeling of mutual good-will—heartily congratulating the Unitarians on the happy circumstances under which they were celebrating their tercentenary. These friendly sentiments were uttered, I was told, in speeches from different parties at the ensuing dinner—in one especially from a Catholic priest, whose features (for of that we could judge) very distinctly announced the inward benignity of his nature. The Bishop stated at table, that he had received letters of congratulation and fraternal sympathy from the Lutheran Consistory, and from a leading man among the Jews, the editor of a journal in their interest at Pesth.

The dinner was distinguished by some peculiarities which made it different from anything we have in England. On the first day (Sunday) the ladies dined apart, though in the course of the afternoon they took their seats in a gallery at the end of the room. Their influence, however, and their interest on the occasion were sufficiently indicated in the beautiful way in which the table was adorned with greens and flowers, and in the admirable propriety and success with which all the culinary arrangements had been conducted. The hospitality was boundless. It is impossible to describe the endless succession of dishes that were placed before the guests and removed, not, I was informed, altogether by hired waiters, but to a great extent by the free, spontaneous services of the kind-hearted burghers of Torda. In an adjoining room was a gypsy-band, whose striking and original but somewhat harsh music was continued at intervals through the whole of the feast. Speak-

ing is not, as with us, postponed to the time when the cloth is removed, but commences almost with the dinner itself, apparently without any fixed order, or if it follows any, occupying the short intervals between the courses. The marvellous fluency of the speakers astonished me. Every one rises to speak as the spirit moves him; and as far as I could judge, its promptings never flagged for an instant. When a health is given, no formal and immediate answer is expected. The whole proceeding seemed to me remarkably free and unconventional. When a person sate down after speaking, there was a general outburst through the room of *eljen, eljen* (equivalent to our *hear, hear*), especially if he had touched the feelings of his audience, and strongly carried with him their sympathies. At the same moment the gypsy-band struck in with its wild, braying music, accompanied by a loud discharge of ordnance.*

From dinner we withdrew to an adjourned meeting of the Consistory, the Bishop in the chair, when I delivered the Addresses which I had brought from England; and on presenting them, spoke a few sentences in Latin (prepared of course beforehand, and pronounced after the usual continental mode) to the following effect:†

* This must have been an ancient custom. I was reminded of the passage in Hamlet :

“No jocund health that Denmark drinks to-day,
But the great cannon to the clouds shall tell,
And the King's rouse the heaven shall bruit again,
Re-speaking earthly thunder.”—Act i. Sc. ii.

† The words actually spoken were these: “Plus nimio mihi dolet, fratres in Christo cari, quod vos Hungarice alloqui nequeo. Lubentissime enim ad verba benevolentie plena quibus me in consessum vestrum modo recepistis, vestra ipsorum lingua, nobili illa antiquaque, adhuc vegeta, et nunc demum in jus suum restituta, respondi. Reputantem autem me, linguas omnes quotquot sunt unius ejusdemque humanitatis meras esse interpretes, suavis subito cogitatio, cor cordi semper responsum dare posse, atque ibi sepe numero sensuum affectuumque intimorum jucundissimam intercedere consuetudinem, ubi lingua mutuo ignorata impedimentum potius quam adiutorium hominum commercio existat. Nos vero, fratres dilecti, penitior quædam necessitas arctissimis vinculis conjunxit. Formam veritatis Christianæ simplicem sinceramque, gratia mundi pro nihilo habita, una sustinui. Una iidem haud pauca incommoda, ne dicam damna et detrimenta, annis præteritis, ob nostram in veritate asserenda propagandaque audentiam atque *παρρησίαν*, perperissi sumus. Nec minus tamen inter has molestias communem semper aluius spem, Dei veritatem animo aperto et candido assiduoque studio expetitam, in clariorem olim lucem auctoritatemque graviorem emersuram esse, ecclesiamque Christianam universos homines tandem aliquando mutuo inter se amore colligatos in sinu suo materno comprehensos excepturam. Dies tam cupide exoptatus jamjamque adest. Sol

"I regret, dear Christian brethren, more than I can express, my inability to address you in Hungarian; for I would gladly have replied to the kind words with which you have just received me into your assembly, in your own noble and ancient tongue, instinct as it is still with life, and now at length restored to its just rights. When, however, I reflect, that all the languages that exist, are but interpreters of one and the same humanity,

libertatis montibus exoriens vallibus nocte obrutis illucescere cæpit, cursuque progrediente tenebras superstitionis atque iniquitatis tamdiu vitæ humanæ offusas constanter discutiet. Mihi quidem collegisque meis conjunctissimis, Martineavis patri filioque (quos ab hac die solenni abesse vehementer doleo) gratum munus obtigit, ut excellentissimæ spei juvenes, vestros dico, Sinen, Benzedi, Uzoni—disciplinis philologicis, philosophicis, theologicis, aliqua ex parte erudiremus. Sit, precor, optimis illis adolescentibus felix faustumque vitæ publicæ exordium. Quali omine apud nos fundamenta doctrinæ tam auspicato jecerint, tali ex animo optamus, ut curriculum quod ingressi sunt, conficiant, fructusque uberrimos pietatis, virtutis, cultus longe lateque inter cives suos dispergant.

"Minime tamen in votis est, nobis vobisque, fratres, ut secta quædam peculiaris in perpetuum fiamus: verum iis potius rebus insistendum esse opinamur, quæ, intemperie disputandi penitus abjecta ac doctrinæ simplicitate religiose conservata, ad amorem Dei atque hominis, primum illud fidei Christianæ institutum, fovendum augendumque præcipue conducant. Quibus rebus rite intellectis atque in mores seculi inductis, claustra ista odiosa quæ usque hodie Jesu discipulos quasi in septa quædam diversa dispescunt, ipsa corruent, et ubique terrarum, sicut scriptum est, 'unum fiet ovile et unus pastor.' Liceat mihi hac occasione verbis uti illustrissimi vestratis, Szent Abraham, quibus libro egregio finem posuit, ab imperatore Josepho secundo, modestiæ simul et sapientiæ causa, summa laude cumlato: 'Eo potius omnia nostra studia dirigere intendimus, ut veritatem salutarem, quam scire universorum interest, quæve ducit ad solidam pietatem, singulorum salutem, omnium pacem et concordiam, sectemur atque promovere possimus.' [Summ. Univ. Theol. Christ., Conclus. § 1.]

"Allocutiones duas, Unitariis Anglicis in testimonium amoris erga vos vere fraterni conceptas, en vobis hodie in manus trado: unam, Latine scriptam et multis nominibus bene notis subsignatam, Societate Unitaria Britannica et Extera oblatam; alteram, conventu Unitariorum solenni apud Eboracenses occidentales, viro reverendo Joanne Kenrick Anglorum inter doctissimos suadente, placito unanimi comprobata ac præside conventus nomine subsignatam. Quo sensu nos, fratres carissimi, has nostras benevolentiae et concordiae testimoniationes ex imo pectore profundimus, eodem nullus dubito quin vos eis respondebitis, nobisque communis fidei similisque fortunæ per multa jam secula consortibus sedem perennem intra præcordia vestra præbebitis.

"Dum terræ vestræ nostræque mercibus libere permutandis sese, ut spero, quotannis et divitiores et potentiores reddent, inter mentes utriusque regionis, Deum Optimum Maximum suppliciter oro atque imploro, ut commercium fructuosius in posterum exoriat, quo locis quanquam longe disjunctis, uno tamen conatu propositoque totas vires qualescunque sint ad libertatem germanam stabilendam, tum ad constantes concivium nostrorum profectus in cultu, scientia, virtute adjuvandos, ad veram denique religionem tuendam diffundendamque ubique et semper conferamus."

I gave a copy of these words to one of the members of the Consistory, and I understood they were to be entered on its minutes.

I am met by the pleasant thought, that the heart can always make a reply to the heart, and that there oftentimes may be the most delightful exchange of feeling and affection, where the want of a common medium of expression makes language rather a hindrance than a help to human intercourse. As for us, dear brethren, a deeper intimacy binds us to each other by the closest ties. Together we have upheld, regardless of the favour of the world, a simple and genuine form of Christian truth. Together we have sustained, in past years, not a few inconveniences, not to say losses and wrongs, for our boldness and free speech in asserting and propagating truth. And yet, not the less in the midst of these annoyances, have we cherished the common hope, that God's truth, sought with an open and candid mind and assiduous study, would sooner or later emerge into clearer light and weightier influence, and the Christian Church enfold in its maternal embrace the whole race of men, held together at length in the bonds of mutual love. The day so eagerly expected, is now approaching. The sun of freedom rising over the mountains, is beginning to throw its beams into valleys buried in night, and as it proceeds in its course will steadily dispel the shades of superstition and injustice which have so long darkened the life of man. To me indeed, and to the colleagues with whom I am so happily connected, the Martineaus, father and son (whose absence I deeply regret from the present celebration), the pleasant task has been assigned of contributing in some degree to the philological, philosophical and theological training of some young men of great promise—your countrymen, Simén, Benezedi, Uzon. It is my prayer, that the entrance of those excellent young men on public life may be an auspicious one. It is our heartfelt wish, that under the same favourable omens under which they so successfully laid with us the foundations of learning, they may complete the career on which they have entered, and spread far and wide among their countrymen the richest fruits of culture, piety and virtue.

“It is, however, as little your wish as ours, brethren, that we should form in perpetuity a certain, peculiar sect. We are rather of opinion, that those matters should be chiefly insisted on, which, renouncing the excessive passion for disputation and clinging religiously to simplicity of doctrine, may contribute above all things to cherish and increase that love of God and man, which is the fundamental principle of the Christian faith. For when this principle is once well understood and has penetrated the character of the age, all those odious separations which to this day shut up the disciples of Jesus as it were in different pens, will fall down of themselves, and over the whole earth, as the

Scripture says, 'there will be one fold and one shepherd.' Allow me on this occasion to quote the language of your distinguished countryman, Szent Abraham—in the words that close the excellent work, which for its mingled wisdom and moderation received the highest praise from the Emperor Joseph II.: 'To this end are all our studies directed, to pursue and be able to promote that saving truth which it concerns all to know, and which issues in solid piety, in the eternal well-being of individuals, and in peace and harmony among all men.'

"Two Addresses, drawn up by the English Unitarians, in testimony of their fraternal regard for you, I this day deliver into your hands; one, written in Latin and signed by many well-known names, from the British and Foreign Unitarian Association; another, unanimously adopted, at the suggestion of the Rev. John Kenrick, one of our first English scholars, at a meeting of the Yorkshire West-Riding Unitarian Association, and signed by the Chairman in the name of the meeting.

"With the same feeling, my dear brethren, with which we offer you from our inmost heart these witnesses of our good-will and sympathy, I doubt not you will respond to them, and grant to us, the partakers with you now through many centuries, of a common faith and a similar fortune, a lasting place within your bosoms. While your land and ours by a free commercial intercourse will, I hope, yearly render themselves richer and more powerful, it is my fervent prayer to the great and good God, that between the minds of each region there may henceforth arise a more fruitful commerce, through which, though in places widely apart, we may still, with one aim and effort, combine everywhere and always all our powers, such as they may be, for the establishing of genuine liberty, for aiding the steady progress of our fellow-citizens in refinement, science and virtue, and lastly for the protection and diffusion of true religion."

These words were received with very cordial *eljes*, which were repeated when, on reading over the signatures to the London Address, the name of Sir John Bowring occurred.

The next day (Monday) there was again a service in the church. Mr. Simén, formerly a Manchester College student, and now Professor of Hebrew and Ecclesiastical History in the College at Clausenburg, preached. His manner was firm, self-possessed and manly; and his discourse, I was informed, was more of a direct exposition and defence of Unitarianism than that of Mr. Ferenz on the preceding day. It was listened to with close attention, and evidently produced a corresponding effect. When the sermon, and

the prayer by a venerable-looking minister which followed it, were over, there was an Ordination Service. Thirteen young men presented themselves. They stood in a circle round the communion-table in front of the pulpit, in the presence of the Bishop and the Archdeacons and the Notary of the Consistory. Each of these in succession took an oath of fidelity to the Church, repeating, with thumb up-raised,* after the Notary, the prescribed form of words, and then signing his name in the register of the Consistory. The form of oath was originally recited in Latin (of which Bishop Kriza kindly presented me with a copy); but it is now, in accordance with the patriotic passion for the resumption of the native tongue, always rendered into Magyar. I here give it from the Latin: "I, the undersigned N. N., swear by the Living and Eternal God, and in virtue of this my handwriting promise and take God to witness, that I will, in the discharge of my ecclesiastical function, guide the flock committed to me by the Divine will, not only with wholesome doctrine (*salutari doctrina*), but also to the best of my power with holiness of life, and that I will go before them in the way which leads to the eternal salvation of souls, by living soberly, righteously and holily; that I will neglect none of those things which contribute to the benefit of the Church; and that I will shrink from no labour and trouble, however it may involve the loss of my own health and fortune and even my life, provided it promotes the growth and prosperity of that heavenly truth which is conjoined with piety; that I will yield obedience to those who are set over me by the Church and God, without hesitation, complaint and contumacy, according to the order of ecclesiastical discipline; and that I will altogether so conduct myself, that having discharged my office with a good conscience, sincere faith and love unfeigned, I may at length be found worthy to hear those words of our Lord,

* This is the traditional form of taking the oath. What it symbolizes, I do not exactly know. Is there any allusion to the martyr-spirit of resolution, with which men anciently dedicated themselves to the service of the Church? In the gladiatorial shows of the Romans, the depressed thumb indicated a wish for the close of the fight, its elevation, for its continuance. (Juvenal, Sat. iii. 36.) In mediæval paintings and sculptures, the hand of the Supreme Being and of Christ is sometimes represented with the two forefingers and the thumb elevated. See Didron's *Iconographie Chrétienne*, fig. 54, 61, 65, 69, &c. Was this suggested by Deuteronomy xxxii. 40?

‘Well, thou good servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things ; I will set thee over many things.’ Amen.”

When the adjuration and signature had been gone through, each of the young ministers kneeled down in succession, and, the Bishop and the Archdeacons laying their hands on his head, the Bishop pronounced over him a short benedictory prayer. This was in Magyar, and varied, I think, in every instance. The Bishop furnished me with some of these forms in Latin. The following may suffice as a specimen ; they are all in the same spirit :

“O most merciful God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who art the Bestower of all good, look down from heaven, we earnestly beseech Thee, on this thy servant, whom Thou art now sending forth into thy harvest. Endue him with power from on high, that he may faithfully, holily, wisely and freely proclaim thy word, and as well by his teaching as by the example of his life, may increase the number of thy faithful servants, so that hereafter he may himself hear those words of thy Son, full of all consolation, ‘Well done,’ &c. Amen.”

Another form was this :

“O Father of lights, from whom cometh down every good gift and every perfect gift, lift up, we earnestly beseech Thee, the light of thy countenance on this thy servant, to whose instruction and care Thou art committing thy flock. Illuminate his mind ; guide his will ; rule his actions ; that he may rightly adorn the field of duty allotted him, and render such service to thy name, that he may himself obtain hereafter the unfading crown which is promised to the victorious in heaven. Amen.”

In the tent where we assembled, as on the preceding day, before dinner, a clergyman from Sekler-land came up and spoke to me. He had been imprisoned six months for the part that he had taken during the Revolution. He inquired after Mr. Steinthal and desired to be kindly remembered to him. This day the ladies dined with us, and several toasts were drunk to their health, including one to the English visitor, my companion ; and the speech accompanying it from Mr. Benczedi, contained, I was told, a very flattering allusion to the family-life of England. The gypsy-band was transferred to the gallery ; and the discharge of ordnance, whether out of consideration for the more sensitive nerves of the female part of the company, I know not,—omitted. In other respects the proceedings were precisely

the same as the day before—speeches and music without intermission. At both these dinners I said a few words in German, in acknowledgment of the hospitable reception I had received, and of the friendly sentiments expressed towards the English brethren and England generally. I had of course prepared beforehand what I had to say, as I did not dare to venture on extempore utterance in a language not my own. On the first day, I alluded to the friendly relations which had been established between the Unitarians of England and Transylvania, by the fact of their young men coming to study in our Academy; stated my belief that this intercourse would prove a benefit to both parties, and my hope that it would continue to increase in closeness and cordiality; and concluded by drinking health and prosperity to Bishop Kriza and the Unitarian Churches of Transylvania. The next day, I dwelt briefly on the more general relations between Hungary and England; noticed the points of affinity between the historical institutions of the two countries; expressed the deep sympathy which the English people had always felt in the struggles of the Hungarians for constitutional freedom, and my own hope that they would be crowned at length with complete success; and concluded with proposing the health of Mr. Paget and his lady, as affording in their own happy union a living symbol of the feeling that should ever unite the two countries. Each day's proceedings ended with a ball, which lasted, I was told, till a late hour the next morning. As we should have had five miles to drive home in the cold night air of a Transylvanian autumn, our kind host Mr. Paget, with his usual consideration, thought it better, after the heat and exhaustion of the preceding day, that we should not wait for these concluding festivities. I trust our excellent friends at Torda understood the reason of our absence, and would not impute it to any want of sympathy with their rejoicing, or failure to appreciate their generous and overflowing hospitality.

The greater part of the ensuing week we spent most agreeably at Gyéres; and we had thus an opportunity of seeing something of the adjoining country, as well as of the interior of Hungarian life. I may mention, as an amusing instance of the simple kindness of the people, that the day after the last dinner, a good lady trudged on foot all the

way from Torda to Gyéres under a hot sun, to present me and my daughter with a huge cake of a kind for which Torda is celebrated. She accompanied it with a speech in Magyar, which Mrs. Paget translated for us. After kissing our hands, she took her departure; and as we were assured that the said cake would keep for months, we deposited it among our heavy luggage for safe transit to England.

One day, in company with Mr. Paget, we visited the celebrated salt-mines of Maros Ujvár, which yield a large revenue to the government. Among recent reforms, the *gabelle* or duty on salt has, I believe, been considerably lowered. We descended in a bucket a shaft three or four hundred feet deep, saw the vast subterranean chambers, which when lighted up by the blaze of kindled straw had a most splendid effect, and re-ascended to the surface of the earth through a long succession of galleries cut out of the perpendicular face of huge precipices of rock-salt. At one place we saw a dozen men half-naked in a row, wielding their hammers to a sort of rhythmus, like the Cyclops in Virgil,* loosening the excavated mass of salt from its basis, and then dividing it, as required by law, with an unerring tact into portions of not less than 85 or more than 95 pounds. On our road thither and back, we passed the country-houses of several of the Transylvanian nobility. They are comfortable-looking, but rather homely in their external aspect, resembling those which we had seen many years before in Holstein, with the farm-buildings and residence of the bailiff often close at hand, but not surrounded by any park or large extent of ornamental ground. The immediate neighbourhood of Gyéres is flat; but it is surrounded by hills at some distance on every side, and to the west the house commands a fine view of the picturesque broken ridge of the Torda mountains. At one point this ridge is riven by a cleft, which cuts right through it on a level with the valleys which it divides. This is the Thordai Hasadek; from its singular formation, an object of much interest to travellers, and a frequent scene of pic-nics. We devoted a day to visiting it, and approached it over a wild country, for the most part without regular roads. We made

* Illi inter sese multa vi brachia tollunt
In numerum.—Æn. viii. 451.

our way through it to a considerable distance, by leaping, with the help of some friendly Wallachs, from one surface to another of the masses of broken rock which obstruct the course of the little stream which quietly winds through it. At length a repose and some refreshment on a smooth plot of turf overhanging the brook, were very acceptable. The huge cliffs towering over our heads, which sheltered us from the sun, the ceaseless ripple of the waters, and the group of Wallachs in their wild costume stretched on a hillock near us, formed altogether a cluster of impressions that was at once novel and delightful. Both this scene and the mines at Maros Ujvár are described by Mr. Paget with his usual graphic power in his *Account of Hungary and Transylvania*. On our return, we descended the slope of a hill clothed with orchards and vineyards, on which stood a very pretty village, chiefly inhabited by Unitarians. We noticed, as we passed, the Unitarian and the Wallach church. We then forded the shallow bed of the Aranyos, and, driving along the plain towards Gyéres, we passed through another Unitarian village with a large church. We met and saluted the clergyman on the road.

We took the opportunity, while we were at Gyéres, of seeing the school which is connected with the church of the Reformed in the village. Mrs. Paget takes an interest in it, and accompanied us. The master was absent; but several of the children soon assembled. They seemed to read quite fluently, and wrote a clear, distinct hand. They sung part of a song, which, I regretted to learn, was tinged with strong political feeling and directed against Kossuth. I see no use in filling the minds of children with political prepossessions. Such a practice may cut both ways. Should reaction ever come, it may only intensify its violence. Both the school-rooms (the boys and girls are taught apart) were neat and clean, and reasonably well furnished with the usual appurtenances to effective teaching, such as a black board for diagrams and explanations, and pasteboard *cartes* with letters and syllables printed in large characters, hung round the room. They used, I observed, a selection of Bible stories, drawn up for the use of schools by the Bishop or Superintendent of the Reformed Churches, and embellished with very good illustrations. I have already remarked, that in Hungary each of the recognized religions supports its own

schools. The school system is as yet wholly unconnected with the State. My stay in the country was hardly of sufficient length to enable me to form a very decided opinion. Still I am inclined to think, from what I heard and saw, that a periodical inspection under the authority of a liberal government, such as now directs the affairs of Hungary, would tend to quicken and elevate the primary instruction of the country.

At the close of the week we returned to Clausenburg, to prepare for our return home. But we had fresh hospitalities to experience, and our kind friends would gladly have kept us longer with them. All the strangers who have visited the Unitarians of Clausenburg, have left photographs behind them in the chamber of the Consistory. I was requested to do the same. I should hardly have noticed the circumstance, but for the opportunity it affords me of alluding to the photographic institution at Clausenburg. It is by far the completest of any that I have yet seen; in the propriety and elegance of its arrangements exceeding even those of London. It stands in a beautiful garden on the outskirts of the town. Another object deserving of notice in Clausenburg is the Museum. We visited it twice. The present Director is Mr. Brassay, an Unitarian, a man of varied attainments, Curator of the College of the Unitarians, and a member of the Hungarian Academy. The house was formerly a seat of Count Mico, a leading member of the Reformed Communion, just outside Clausenburg, which, with the beautiful grounds in which it stands, commanding a delightful view of the richly-wooded valley of the Szamos, was presented by that nobleman, with a munificent liberality, to the public. It contains well-arranged specimens of the natural, particularly the mineral, products of Transylvania, with a small collection of pictures, and portraits of distinguished men. The department of antiquities, under the charge of its special curator, Mr. Finale, is particularly interesting. Transylvania, a part of the old province of Dacia, is very rich in remains of the Romans, who extensively worked its mines. This collection is filled with monuments of their former presence in the country. Here are deposited the waxen tablets, ascribed to the second century, which were found a few years ago in some adjoining gold-mines, accompanied by a braid of hair. There are three of

them. The first contains a bond for a loan and payment of interest ; the second is a contract between an employer and a workman ; the third, from its imperfect condition, is undecipherable. Apparently for greater security, these documents exist in a double form, written outside as well as within the tablet.

On Sunday morning we attended service in the Unitarian church at Clausenburg. A young candidate preached. The audience was not numerous. There was probably some exhaustion after the excitements of the foregoing week. The women and the men sate in different parts of the church ; and the further end, fronting the entrance, was filled with the pupils and teachers of the Gynnasium and College. The service was very simple ; in the predominance of the sermon over every other part, much resembling that of the Protestant churches in Germany. In the afternoon we had been invited to dine with Mr. Kelemen, a fine old gentleman and a zealous Unitarian, on the celebration of his 76th birthday. He had been steward to Baron Wesselényi ; and left guardian of his children. This trust he had executed with such ability and faithfulness, that he not only freed the estate from all encumbrances, but presented each of the sons on coming of age with a handsome sum of ready money. His country-house, where he is enjoying his old age amidst universal respect, in rural ease and abundance, is situated at Szucsák, in a beautiful wooded valley about ten or twelve miles from Clausenburg. We approached it over dilapidated bridges and most primitive roads, that must have tried the springs of Mr. Paget's carriage fearfully. Mr. Kelemen received us at the entrance of his grounds with that frank and unaffected courtesy which is characteristic of the Hungarians, and taking my daughter under his arm, led us to the part of the garden where the rest of his guests were assembled. He had invited about sixty. There were representatives of most of the Unitarian families in the neighbourhood, including the professors of Clausenburg, as well as others. It was an excellent opportunity of seeing something in its native, genuine form, of the profuse hospitality of Hungary. The company was dispersed in groups over the picturesque but somewhat wild and orchard-like garden ; some sitting in a sheltered arbour, and partaking of the cake and liqueur which in this country always precede a

dinner. At dinner we were distributed through different apartments of a building in the grounds, at some distance from his proper residence—the hale old man, assisted by his niece, presiding with wonderful vigour and vivacity at the head of the principal table, and telling his guests that he hoped to see them again on a similar occasion that day ten years. A gypsy-band was stationed in an adjoining room; and music and speeches flowed on in unintermitted stream till the end of the feast. I was seated next the Bishop. In the course of the afternoon, he turned round to me quite unexpectedly, and addressed me very fluently in Latin—expressing in the kindest terms his fraternal regard for the English Unitarians, his grateful sense of the services material and spiritual which they had rendered to the Churches of Transylvania, and his hearty good wishes for my own and my daughter's safe return to our native shores, weaving into his speech a graceful use of the well-known Horatian words, "*Navis, quæ tibi creditum Debes,*" &c. I ought to have made a brief acknowledgment in Latin, which I could have done without much difficulty, had I been sufficiently collected. But I was taken so completely by surprise, and was so really touched by the kindness of his language and manner, that I rose impromptu to utter my thanks in German, and am only too sensible that I delivered myself in a very confused and imperfect manner. I was told, however, that I was quite understood. To make amends, I afterwards sent the good Bishop a few words in Latin, conveying more briefly and precisely what I had wished and meant to say. The day's festivities concluded with a ball; and we were glad to have an opportunity at last of seeing a Hungarian dance. It is full of life and expression—a great contrast to our cold and conventional movements. The gentlemen dance in Hessian boots, which form a part of the Hungarian full dress; and in their vigorous, animated footing, make a considerable noise on the floor and raise no little dust. On leaving Mr. Kelemen's hospitable abode, we found a party of Wallach peasants dancing to a gypsy-band at his gates. Their gesticulations were the wildest that can be conceived, quite in harmony with the music which inspired them. We drove home by moonlight, and reached Clausenburg without any mishap.

The hospitalities of our friends followed us beyond Clausenburg. The next day, when we were to set out on our

return home, we found that a most commodious carriage and four (the usual number of horses in travelling any distance in this country) had been provided for our conveyance to Grosswardein, and that we were to be accompanied by Mr. Simén and a pupil of his as far as Pesth. The Bishop and a number of other friends surrounded our carriage at parting, and bade us an affectionate farewell. Mr. Simén's intelligence and information rendered the early part of our journey homeward very agreeable. Many things which had excited an unsatisfied curiosity when we first passed through the country, he now fully explained to us. Nothing could exceed the kindness of the Transylvanians to the last. On arriving at the little Avar village, Bánfi Hufyad, where we were to sleep, we found the inn crowded and all its rooms engaged. An Unitarian gentleman who filled some official position in the place, on hearing of this, succeeded in procuring us an apartment for the night, to the dispossession, I am afraid, of some previous occupant; and the same gentleman met us as we were driving out of the village, at an early hour next morning, with four bottles of excellent wine, and a jar of preserves for my daughter, which he begged us to accept for our refreshment on the journey. We witnessed some remarkable effects in traversing the great plain of Hungary. I should not have supposed beforehand, that so coarse a material as highway dust could ever have been converted into a source of beauty. But in this part of the country, partly as a consequence of the long-continued drought, it had become exceedingly thin and fine; and as we approached Grosswardein, permeated by the slant rays of the declining sun, it rose from the ground like a cloud of radiant gold, and enveloped in glory the figures of the peasants and their cattle as they stood out against the evening sky. Next day from the window of the railway carriage we distinctly observed a *mirage* on the extreme verge of the horizon—a lake or sea with its rippling waters and adjacent shore. Our pleasant travelling companions dined with us the last day that we were in Pesth; and we took leave of them with a grateful sense of all the kindness that we had experienced among their countrymen, and a hearty wish that these feelings of mutual regard might ever be cherished between countries which have so much in common as England and Hungary.

I have already remarked, that hitherto Unitarianism has

been confined to Transylvania, and has not as yet a single church in Hungary proper. In all probability, however, this will soon cease to be the case. Mr. Buzogany, late a Professor in the College at Clausenburg, and who will perhaps be remembered by some of my readers as having visited England several years ago, has recently been appointed private secretary to Baron Eotvos, Minister of Worship and Instruction at Pesth. There are many individual Unitarians in that capital; and Mr. Buzogany told me, that he meant to avail himself of the opportunities of his position for collecting there a church of Unitarian worshippers. The temper of the present liberal government would not be unfriendly to such an effort. There are other circumstances that would seem to favour the chance of ultimate success. A singular sect has sprung up within the last few years in Hungary, secret but widely diffused, which takes the name of Nazarenes. It is mainly an offshoot from the Catholic Church, a not unnatural result of extreme reaction against its dead formalism and externality. Its adherents have repudiated all Christian ordinances, and have substituted (something after the manner of the New Catholics in Germany) simple festivals of the seasons. They lay chief stress on the Unity of God, and believe, with much respect for his person and teaching, in the simple humanity of Jesus Christ. They have not yet ventured to form themselves into a church. They hold private and secret meetings. Bishop Kriza told me, that he had been in correspondence with them, and was in possession of some of their MSS. Could a simple, rational theology be preached to these people, it is hoped they might be disposed to listen to it, and ultimately become members of a Christian Church.* The history of their ancient but long depressed and persecuted religion is now an object of much interest and research to the Unitarian scholars of Transylvania. Mr. Jakab, the historian of Clausenburg, whose collection of rare old Unitarian books I have already alluded to, has been for years accumulating materials for such a work, which his access to the public archives and the post that he holds under government, afford him singularly favourable opportunities of obtaining: and Mr. Kovács, who

* Since writing the statement in the text, I learn by a letter recently received from Clausenburg, that a body of New Catholics in Vienna have signified to our friends in Transylvania a wish to join the Unitarian Church.

formerly visited England, now a very old man, living in retirement in the country, is understood to be working up the mass of rare and scattered information which he has spent a long life in collecting.

I found the feeling very general among the Transylvanians in favour of maintaining the connection with England, which has already been commenced in the practice of sending some of their young men to complete their studies in our colleges. Such change of scene and experience widens their views and develops their powers. Men who have been educated in England, are in request for higher positions. Mr. Paget, who is much interested in the matter, and at the same time a very competent judge, is of opinion, that if all these young men do not enter the ministry, they may still, by the liberal feelings and views which they will help to diffuse through the country, be of not less service to the general cause of truth and liberty with which Unitarianism is so closely identified. Every Englishman interested in the future of Hungary must feel how important it is, that the public opinion of that great and promising country should be liberal and enlightened, earnest and religious and yet free from all narrow sectarian prejudice. Hungary has still many difficulties before her, which only her own indomitable spirit and a close alliance with other free countries can enable her to vanquish. Her language, to which she is so enthusiastically attached, insulates her, it is true, to a certain extent from the rest of Europe; but her language is the nurse of her nationality; and her intense nationality, which has stood proof against the open and insidious assaults of so many centuries, is the surest guarantee for the preservation of those great principles of constitutional freedom which have been so long and so deeply interwrought with it. Least of all can England allow the extinction of such a member from the brotherhood of free peoples. May the bright hopes which are breaking on Hungary, realize themselves at length in indisputable historical fact! May she become the base of a grand *cordon sanitaire* of free institutions, stretching from the Carpathians to Scandinavia, to protect western Europe from the infection of the despotic principles which lie beyond it!

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Berkeley, California

REPORT

OF

AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO TRANSYLVANIA,

ON OCCASION OF THE

TERCENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION

OF

FRANCIS DÁVID.

ADDRESSED TO THE COUNCIL OF THE

British and Foreign Unitarian Association

BY THEIR APPOINTED REPRESENTATIVE,

ALEXANDER GORDON, M.A.



LONDON :

37, NORFOLK STREET, STRAND.

1879.

The British and Foreign Unitarian Association, in accordance with its First Rule, gives publicity to works calculated "to promote Unitarian Christianity by the diffusion of Biblical, theological, and literary knowledge on topics connected with it," but does not hold itself responsible for every statement, opinion or expression of the writers.

Francis Dávid, the son of a Saxon (i.e. Transylvanian of the German stock) shoemaker, was born at Kolozsvár (Klausenburg) about 1510. He studied at Wittenberg between 1540 and 1548. His first public post was that of Rector in the Catholic (afterwards Lutheran) Gymnasium at Besztercz (Bistritz), 1551, with the cure of Péterfalva. In 1555, having distinguished himself as the antagonist of the Calvinist leaders, Stancaro and Kálmáncsehi, he was simultaneously called to the pastorate of Nagy Szeben (Hermannstadt) and Kolozsvár; he chose the latter. From the year 1558, the year of union between the Lutherans and Calvinists, Dávid began to have doubts respecting the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which he ultimately forsook for that of Calvin, being influenced in this direction by Peter Juhász (Melius) of Debreczen. On the final rupture between the Lutherans and Calvinists in 1564, Dávid was elected Bishop by the latter body. The division was one of race as well as of dogma. Dávid's title was "Bishop of the Hungarian Churches in Transylvania." At the same time he became Court preacher to János Zsigmond (John Sigismund), Prince of Transylvania. The controversy respecting the Trinity arose in the following year, Dávid's first doubts having reference to the distinct divine personality of the Holy Spirit. His great antagonist was Peter Juhász; his strong supporter, the Court physician Giorgio Biandrata. Public discussions took place at Gyulafehérvár (Alba Julia, now Karlsburg) and Nagyvárad (Grosswardein). In 1568, the Edict of religious liberty was issued at the Diet of Torda; the town of Kolozsvár embraced the doctrine that "God is One;" the Prince and Court at Gyulafehérvár followed this example; and Dávid was elected Bishop (still retaining the title "Bishop of the Hungarian Churches in Transylvania") by the new religious community, afterwards (from 1637) known as the Unitarian Church. The death of János Zsigmond in 1571 deprived the movement of one of its warmest friends, and the new ruler of Transylvania, Stephen Báthory, was a Catholic. Moreover, Francis Dávid's was never a stationary mind; and from about 1572, under the influence especially of John Sommer, Rector of the Gymnasium at Kolozsvár, he developed his doctrine to the exclusion of the religious worship of Christ. On this ground a charge of innovation was urged against him by the unscrupulous Biandrata. Fausto Paulo Sozzini was brought to Kolozsvár

for the purpose of leading Dávid to retrace his steps, but in vain. Eventually the venerable Bishop was convicted of innovation before the Prince, Christopher Báthory, at Gyulafehérvár, and incarcerated (3rd June, 1579) in the fortress of Déva, there to await the Prince's further pleasure. Under the hardships of his prison life, it is said that delirium seized him. He died in his dungeon about 15th November, 1579.

Pronunciation (approximate) of the Magyar Words.

1. The accent is always on the first syllable.
2. Of the vowels, *a* sounds as in wan; *á* as in father; the rest are like the German; the ' or " lengthens the sound.
3. Of the consonants, *c*=ts; *cs*=ch; *g* is always hard; *gy*=d in due; *j*=y; *l* in *ely* is silent; *s*=s in sure; *sz*=s; *y* in *ny* is a consonant; *zs*=s in leisure; the rest as usual.

REPORT.

ON the 4th August, 1879, I left Belfast for a journey to the East of Europe, in pursuance of the following resolution :

“That the Rev. Alexander Gordon be requested to represent the Association at the Synod of the Unitarians of Hungary, to be held at Keresztúr, Aug. 24th, in commemoration of the 300th year from the death of their first Bishop, Francis Dávid.”

The incidents of my journey I do not propose to relate in this Report, except in so far as they expressly bear upon the office with which I was entrusted. At the outset I may say that I construed this office as giving me an opportunity for something more than a ceremonial appearance at the meetings to which I was deputed. My strong wish was to become acquainted, so far as time and occasion allowed, with the organic working of the oldest Unitarian Church in the world, and with the actual life and guiding ideas of the people in whom it has been rooted for three centuries. With this aim, previous to starting, I gave all the leisure at my disposal to the acquirement of at least a rudimentary knowledge of the Magyar tongue. Scanty and imperfect as my equipment was in this respect (for no one can master a difficult language in a couple of months amid other occupations), it proved, so far as it went, a most valuable key both to the hearts of the people and to the understanding of their institutions.

As my path to Hungary, I selected a route which was new to me, and which, besides enabling me to work a little at

several important libraries, took me over what was once classic ground in Unitarian history. In Cracow and the neighbourhood I gathered up many facts and observations relating to the unhappily extinct Church of our forerunners in Poland. At Cracow itself, the churches, with their monuments and portraits, are rich in Unitarian memories; while the street names *Ulica Aryńska* and *Ulica Rałowiecka*, preserve, I believe, a distinct trace of the suburb once thickly inhabited by the community so ruthlessly expelled in 1660. I learned upon inquiry that fourteen persons are registered as *Unitarier* in the religious returns of this city. But in vain did I search for any of our fellow-believers among the Hungarians in Cracow; and I am half inclined to think (although the *griechisch-Katholische* are registered under a distinct heading) that these *Unitarier* are Uniat Greeks, that is, members of that section of the Greek Church which is in union with Rome; the more so, as I subsequently found that when I announced myself to Roman Catholics in Galicia as a Unitarian, the word was taken at once in the sense which I have described. Throughout Galicia, the relics of the once flourishing Unitarian Church are still, after two centuries, to be clearly traced, chiefly in the form of graveyards. Priests and peasants will readily direct you to the whereabouts of the *Arianische Friedhof*, and a map which should mark all these would indicate with approximate accuracy the sites of the bulk of our extinguished Churches. I visited several of these. The *Psia góra* (*Hundsberg*), or Dog's Hill, which is placed by Wallace three miles out of Cracow, is in reality close to the ancient wall and within the modern city, but now levelled and thrown into the *Plantacye*, or boulevard. At Luczanowice, three Polish, or nearly twelve English miles in an easterly direction from Cracow, is the second Protestant burial-place, mentioned by Wallace, now used by the Lutherans, but still popularly known as the *Arianische Friedhof*. Here Gregory Pauli lies. At Luslawice is the home and grave of

Fausto Paulo Sozzini. At Bukowiec, the birthplace of Jonas Schlichting, is another such graveyard. The site chosen is always a rising ground. Usually, a natural or artificial tumulus nearly fills the area, which is surrounded, as at Luczanowice, by an earthen dyke and trench.

I reached Budapest on the 14th September, the very day when Alexis Jakab despatched the last proof of his Memoir of Francis Dávid, and saw the end of his long labour of thirty years. Our meeting was enthusiastic and happy. It was my first experience of Hungarian earnestness and Hungarian hospitality, and the pledge of the rest. Nothing, in the demonstrations that succeeded it, has eclipsed that fresh and charming impression of eager welcome, frank scholarly simplicity, and warm brotherly kindness. Alexis Jakab has contributed to his Church the greatest service which it is in the power of a historian to render to any community. He has done for Francis Dávid what M'Crie did for John Knox, and Carlyle for Oliver Cromwell. He has given true proportion and dignity to the life and work of a national hero. To the elucidation of his theme he has devoted his days. But he has his reward. He has succeeded in uncovering the portrait of the real pioneer and patriot of the Unitarian movement; the one man whose spirit was sufficiently profound and true to mould a native Church destined to outlast passing controversies, and to prove an enduring witness for faith in freedom.

Mr. Jakab introduced me to Mr. Aaron Buzogány and other Unitarian friends in Budapest. I had the pleasure of joining one of the fortnightly evening meetings, held regularly by the little circle of our Unitarian fellowship in the Hungarian capital, pending the consummation of their strong desire to see a duly organized Church and ministry established there. At Mr. Jakab's house I also met for the first time Bishop Ferencz, on his return from Czinkota, where he had celebrated the marriage of the Countess Helena Batthyáni, a proselyte of whom the Unitarians have some reason to be proud, and whose

husband, the Worshipful Gabriel Beniczky, is also a good Unitarian. Bishop Ferencz is reckoned one of the three great pulpit orators of Hungary, the other two being Cardinal Haynald, and Bishop Nagy of the Reformed Church in Transylvania. No one can listen to one of his public utterances without feeling that he fully justifies this reputation. In society no man carries less of a pulpit manner. Gifted with a personal presence which is both noble and suasive, he makes a powerful impression as a capable and sympathetic man of affairs. Neither in dress or demeanour, nor I believe in mind, does he wear any trace of the ecclesiastic. Once, as a garb of ceremony, he assumed for a short time the Hungarian national habit; but the white cravat, which is affected by some few of his clergy, he discards even in preaching. The election of Joseph Ferencz to the Episcopate was regarded as a triumph by the party of progress; and though the rival candidate was a worthy and trusted man, who would have done no discredit to the office, our Hungarian Church has seen itself fully justified in the wisdom of its choice. The influence of Bishop Ferencz in stimulating the higher aims of the Church and consolidating its energies, has been most deep and salutary, while the personal enthusiasm he inspires is very great. There is some room for the profane remark of the Calvinistic pastor at Kolozsvár, Dominic Szász, that the Transylvanian Unitarians plainly believe in a Trinity, for they worship one God, and three persons, Jesus Christ, Francis Dávid, and Joseph Ferencz.

Prolonging my stay in Budapest to have the opportunity of making the journey to Kolozsvár in the Bishop's company, I reached the latter city on the morning of Sunday, the 17th August. It was a memorable Sunday morn. Between us and the blue waves of the Danube now lay the vast arid plain of Mid-Hungary, over whose waveless surface our train had crept silently through the night. In the rosy dawn, the hills and streams of enchanting Erdély (Transylvania) saluted our waking senses. An Italian richness and beauty reigned

around. At length and suddenly the spires of Kolozsvár assured us that our destination was at hand. At the railway station a welcome of the warmest and most friendly character introduced me to the beautiful Transylvanian custom of honouring visitors with gifts of flowers presented by fair hands, and prepared me for the kind reception which I immediately afterwards met with at the sitting of the Representative Council. Here, in the vaulted chamber which Mr. Tayler has so graphically described, I sat on the chair of Francis Dávid, surrounded by the portraits of former Bishops, native patrons, and foreign visitors, and facing the shield of arms of László Zsúki, the great benefactor to the Church in the last century. After the first novelty of the situation was worn off, the uppermost feeling with me was one of astonishment to find myself so completely at home, so entirely without a sense of being among foreigners. I began to think that either I must myself be a Hungarian without knowing it, or else I must have got among a lost tribe of Englishmen.

Kolozsvár itself, I am bound to confess, was at first in some degree disappointing. It is a pleasant and even a gay little city, and since the old walls have been demolished it looks, like Budapest, excessively modern. Till I had the privilege of an antiquarian walk round the place under the able escort of Professor Finály, Director of the Museum (a Calvinist, I believe), I could have no idea of the wealth of historical memorials, extending down from Roman times, which are concealed beneath the newer exterior of the city. Our ecclesiastical and collegiate buildings are situated in the *Belső Magyar utca* (Hungarian Street Within), forming a sort of Unitarian quarter. This Hungarian Street has a historical right to rank as the home of our faith in Kolozsvár. It was the original quarter of the Magyar element in this once Saxon town. The German element in Transylvania, I may say, is known as *Szász*, or Saxon; the Germans in Germany are called *Német*, from the Nemetes, a tribe once surrounding the

old capital of Speyer (*Augusta Nemetum*). The development of Unitarian opinion, in the place of Calvinism, among the Magyars, led to the exodus of the Saxons, who were all stiff Lutherans, and fled the new notions as a pestilence. Thus it was that Kolozsvár (one of the seven Saxon settlements which give the country its German name of Siebenbürgen) became practically a Hungarian town.

With the interior of the Metropolitan Church of our faith I was much impressed. I cannot agree with Mr. Tayler that this fine building is "wholly devoid of any pretension to architectural beauty." It is perfectly free from ornament, except some little carving about the pulpit; but its lofty size and noble proportions invest it with a fitting greatness. I know no Unitarian church in which the sense of space is so grandly given; and the pure white tint, which reigns everywhere, adds to the impression of majestic simplicity. Before its side aisles were intercepted by dividing walls, for acoustic purposes, its symmetry must have been to some extent more gracefully complete; but as it stands, and with all my love for the Gothic style, it struck me as a more impressive building than the antique church in the centre of the town from which the Unitarians were ejected. This, which is sometimes, but erroneously, ranked among cathedrals, though good in its way, is a small specimen of a kind of architecture seen elsewhere to more advantage on a larger scale. The other, as an original effort of Unitarian skill and taste and breadth of design, possesses merits of a higher order. The central church of Kolozsvár, dating from 1406, has indeed a sufficiently curious history of its own, for it was long the subject of municipal quarrels, not without a doctrinal side, between the Saxon and Magyar elements in the population. But whoever wants to see the great architectural reminder in Transylvania of the palmy days of the Unitarian Church, must travel away from Kolozsvár to the noble semi-Byzantine Cathedral of St. Michael at Gyulafehérvár (Karlsburg), dating

from 1246. Here lies Isabella, the first Unitarian princess ; here also is the splendid tomb of John Sigismund, the first Unitarian prince, the founder of the religious liberties of his country.

In Kolozsvár may be traced the successive buildings in which the Unitarian College was housed during the days before persecution ; first, in the venerable cloister of the existing Franciscan Church, itself once a shrine of Unitarian worship ; next, in the still more ancient *Plebánia*, or clergy-house, facing the central Church. The structure which served as church and clergy-house for the Polish Unitarian community, from 1660 to 1793, is also to be seen, in the *Belső Monostor utca* (Monostor Street Within). The door of its side entrance bears the warning inscription, evidently of much earlier date than the Polish occupation, *Sta foris, pausa ; non intrabis sine causa*. Of this interesting community the original minute-book is now in the possession of Prof. Joseph Derzsi, First Pastor at Kolozsvár, in whose pleasant chambers I was lodged during my stay.

The religious world of Kolozsvár is tolerably comprehensive. There are five Roman Catholic churches ; two Greek, one of them a Uniat ; two Reformed or Calvinistic ; one Lutheran ; and a synagogue. Nevertheless, except on special occasions, the attendance at public worship is not large. I am told that the throng at the two theatres on a Sunday evening sometimes outnumbers the whole attendance at the morning congregations. This somewhat startling result I am not inclined to attribute to mere indifference, but rather to a view of the relation of public worship to the religious life, which needs, I think, some reconsideration, at least in the towns of Hungary.

I was not able to spend as long a time as I had hoped in the College Library at Kolozsvár, but I found it richer than I had expected in modern works. Especially was I surprised and pleased to find translations into Hungarian or German of some of the leading writers among the liberal theo-

logians of England and America. Such translations are being almost daily multiplied. Here I may state that the most important Library for early Unitarian history is that at Székely-Keresztúr, where the collections of Alexis Jakab are deposited. The Torda Library is very poor ; it contains nevertheless some interesting manuscripts.

From Kolozsvár, on my way to the Synodical meeting, I visited Torda, Toroczkó, Gyéres, Maros-Vásárhely, and the villages intermediate between that town and Székely-Keresztúr. Mr. Steinthal and Mr. Tayler have so well described Torda, where the meetings of 1868 were held, that I need only add that the new College buildings are here, as at Székely-Keresztúr, a great improvement upon the old ones, and seem both comfortable and convenient. At Gyéres I spent a most agreeable and restful couple of days under the hospitable roof of Mr. Paget, whom I found hale and hearty, though not feeling equal to the task of being present at the approaching meetings. Of my visit to Toroczkó, which lay between these places, I must speak in more detail.

At a very early hour on the 20th August, a party of our Torda friends started in four open carriages to accompany me to Toroczkó. The stalwart and genial pastor of Torda, Rev. John Albert, a fine scholar and deservedly popular devotional writer, one of the few ready speakers of Latin whom I met on my travels, was the director of our band. Among the other leaders of the company was my guide, philosopher and friend, the warm-hearted Stephen Májai, Professor of German. I had no idea, when we set forth, what the day was to bring ; it turned out that we were in for a species of triumphal progress, which certainly dazzled, if it did not confound me. At the first Unitarian village which we reached, Szent-Mihályfalva, the church bells were ringing, and the pastor, Rev. Adam Dali, with his elders and a crowd of the faithful, were assembled at the lych-gate to greet us. After a few words of friendly salutation on both sides, we proceeded on our way,

accompanied now by a Szent-Mihályfalva contingent to our cortège. At Sinfalva, a village where the old church had been wrested from the Unitarians by the Roman Catholics, who brought in the gipseys in order to manufacture a majority of votes, the like scene was repeated. The pastor, Rev. John Szuhai, in his gown, waited, amid a throng of fellow-worshippers, for our approach ; and the bells of the *Unitária Ekklézsia* sounded a merry peal of welcome. Here, too, some more carriages fell into line. By the turn of the road leading to Várfalva, the pastor of this village, Rev. Francis Orbok, gave us the greetings of his flock, and joined us on our way. Arrived at Borrév, a Wallach village where the road leaves the bed of the Aranyos, and turns southward towards the mountain-girdled throne on which Toroczkó is seated, we found the whole place alive with excitement. The house at which we halted for refreshment was dressed with boughs and flowers. A triumphal arch of leafy elegance spanned the bridge. A cavalcade of native hussars from Toroczkó was in waiting to escort us. The riders were noble-looking fellows, with splendid sheepskin cloaks thrown over the most picturesque of soldierly costumes, the advance guard carrying flags. As we neared our destination, cannon-shots were fired from the magnificent rocks bordering the road ; the canons being rude contrivances of stone, but producing a sufficiently portentous noise, which echoed marvellously among the hills. We drove, as Mr. Steinthal had done before us, to the residence of the Rural Dean, Rev. Anthony Koronka. The courtyard of his house was planted with young birches and firs, stuck into the ground that morning to give an air of additional beauty and brightness to the place. Every one was in holiday array, and the betrothed maidens of Toroczkó, in their antique golden crowns and richly ornamented festal garb, literally loaded us and our carriages with garlands of every size and hue and fragrance.

Toroczkó was the one place in Transylvania of which I

had a distinct impression. I knew it from the powerful romance of Maurice Jókai, *Egy az Isten* (God is One), the reading of which had beguiled the long hours of my railway and steam-boat travel. The little mining town, which nestles beneath the awful shadow of the *Székely-kő* (Szekler Stone), is built around a large open square, in the centre of which rises the gilded spire of the Unitarian church. This is the church whose bell, according to Jókai, has no Calvinism about it, but rings out ever, with brave single strokes, the Unitarian creed, "One! One! One! One!" To this building, the only house of worship in Torockzó, the Rural Dean conducted us, and it was speedily filled by the members of his flock. I was compelled to say a few words, but my emotions almost mastered me. Presently the organ pealed, and the whole body of people with one united voice broke out into the strain of Luther's mighty hymn, singing in resonant Magyar the version by Francis Dávid which they love so well: *Erős várunk nékiink az Isten* ("Our fortress strong, for us 'tis God!"). Then indeed I was fairly melted down with a new and indescribable sense of the power of our religion. That the faith of our fathers was here no bare speculation, but a living fire in the heart of a free people, was borne into my mind with a force and majesty of impression of which I could have had no previous idea. In the few sentences which I uttered, I was careful to say that the honour so richly and so kindly shewn that day was taken by the recipient in the spirit in which it was intended; namely, as an offering of friendship and a pledge of religious fellowship, tendered to the whole body of the Unitarians of Great Britain in the person of their unworthy representative. It is to exhibit the warmth of that pledge and the fulness of that friendship that I have ventured to detail the above circumstances in my Report.

Of Maros-Vásárhely, I will only say that the little community of Unitarians have, since the period of Mr. Steinthal's visit, secured a house of worship for themselves, a plain

simple building in a good quarter of the town. I may add, to complete Mr. Steinthal's account of this place, that I spent several hours in the famous Library founded by Count Samuel Teleki (a Calvinist) in 1795. It is rich in materials for early Hungarian and early Unitarian history. The manuscript which Mr. Steinthal heard of as a writing of Sozzini is in fact a transcript, page for page, and line for line (differing in this last particular from the 1790 reprint), of the priceless *Christianismi Restitutio* of Miguel Serveto. It was made in 1786, from the 1553 original (described in Wallace, *Ant. Biog.* I. 454-460), which came from London in 1665, being brought to Kolozsvár by Bishop Daniel Markos Szent-Iványi. Having become the property of Count Teleki, he got it transcribed, and presented the original to the Emperor Joseph II. as "phœnix librorum." The return of a splendid diamond proved how the Emperor valued the gift, which is carefully preserved in the Imperial Court Library at Vienna.

On the way from Maros-Vásárhely to Székely-Kereztúr, a journey which I undertook in company with Mr. Andrew Kosma, Mr. Stephen Biás, and other friends who were proceeding to the Synodical meeting, we threaded several Unitarian villages, Bözöd, Gagy, Szent-Abrahám, and Csekefalva. Closely adjacent to the road is a village, Bözöd-Ujfalu, also containing a small Unitarian community, but which I particularly mention because here existed the last considerable community of the *Szombatosok* or Sabbatarians. Respecting this community I was told the following narrative. The Sabbatarians being not a tolerated sect, the majority of the inhabitants of this village long remained outwardly Roman Catholic; abstaining, however, from all work on the Saturday, and marrying only among themselves and those secretly holding their peculiar views. On the passing of the law permitting Hungarians to avow a change of religion, the Sabbatarians of Bözöd-Ujfalu went over in a body to Judaism, received circumcision, which proved fatal to some of the older people,

and erected a synagogue. There are still to be found individual Sabbatarians in Transylvania. Many interesting documents relative to the rise of the sect, about 1621, under Simon Pécsi, the Chancellor of Gabriel Bethlen, are preserved at Budapest and Kolozsvár. They were strict Monotheists of the Hebrew type. The existence of views similar to those they held will account, in part, for the frequent denunciation of semi-judaizing tendencies by the contemporaries of Francis Dávid.

On Saturday, the 23rd August, I was not present at the overflowing welcome given to the Bishop, the Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. Chalmers, at the railway station of Hejasfalva, and in the village of Uj-Székely. In the market-place of Székely-Keresztúr, where a triumphal arch, bearing the words *Isten Hozott* (God has brought you) had been erected, I awaited the arrival of the procession which escorted the distinguished guests. It was dusk before the first outriders, coming in at full gallop, announced that the long train of carriages was at hand. The resources of the friendly town were taxed to provide an extempore illumination to clear away some of the darkness. Gladsome window lights and flaring torches added a fresh element of picturesqueness to the scene. The reception of the Bishop was such as must have gone to his heart. His speech was full of feeling, sustained by a noble dignity. An address in excellent English was spoken by Professor Benzédi, warmly welcoming the representatives from this country, and including in its expressions of hospitality the expected representative from America, who had unfortunately been unable to proceed beyond Switzerland. I endeavoured, after replying in my own language, to add a few words in Hungarian. Mr. Chalmers conveyed a very appropriate response in German.

Next morning a large deputation from the members of the Synodical Council waited upon Mr. Chalmers and myself at our most comfortable lodgings, to assure us of the pleasure

with which we should be welcomed by that Worshipful Body. We found they had spoken no more than the simple fact. With every mark of respect and honour the Hungarian Church received us at their chief Council. The Council having been constituted by the opening address of the Worshipful Gabriel Daniel, Lord Lieutenant (*Főispán*) of the Udvarhely County (*megye*), and by prayer, the Bishop rose and introduced the English deputation. Mr. Chalmers delivered a most suitable and effective speech in German. I presented the following Address, prefacing it by a few words in Hungarian :

To the Consistory of the Unitarians of Hungary, assembled at Székely Keresztúr, August 24th, 1879.

Dear Christian Brethren,

We feel it a great honour to be asked to take part in the deeply interesting commemoration of the three-hundredth year from the martyr-death of Francis Dávid, the first Superintendent of the Unitarian Churches in Transylvania.

Having received from your esteemed Bishop the cordial invitation to be represented at your Synod on this occasion, the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association were happy to recommend it to the attention of the Council, and at the Council Meeting of June 21st it was unanimously resolved that a deputation be sent, and the Rev. Alexander Gordon, M.A., of Belfast, was requested to undertake this duty as the representative of the Association. The Council were also pleased to learn that the Rev. Andrew Chalmers, of Cambridge, would attend your celebration, and they desire to commend both these honoured brethren in the name of the Association to your fraternal regard.

We do not address you as strangers. More than half a century ago, when the Association was formed, one of its first duties was to open communication with your Churches. In our Second Annual Report the hope was expressed that a regular and personal intercourse might be established between us, and even at that early period the suggestion was made of an exchange of students at our respective Colleges. The visit of Moses Székely to England a few years afterwards, at the invitation of our Committee, was heartily welcomed as tending towards this closer intimacy, and his valued correspondence with our Association continued for many years. But a new interest was awakened in the prosperity of your Churches twenty-two years ago, when we received from our respected friend and fellow-countryman, Mr. Paget, the intelligence of your praiseworthy efforts to save the Colleges

which were threatened to be taken from you, and from that period to the present time the wish so long before entertained for continuous and personal communion has been happily realized. Many of you will have joined in the hearty reception that has been given from time to time to your visitors from England, and you remember with interest the names of Tagart, Steinthal, Tayler, and Fretwell; whilst we for our part have regarded as dear friends and guests Simén, Benczédi, Uzoni, Kovács, Derzsi, Péterfi, and now George Boros, and do not forget the welcome presence of your Bishop and Mr. Buzogány long since at one of our Annual Meetings. We trust that by the continued visits of friendship on both sides may be strengthened from year to year the bonds of mutual fraternal interest between the Unitarians of Hungary and England.

We congratulate you on the encouraging circumstances under which you hold your present meeting. You have passed through many trying vicissitudes, and have been called upon to make great sacrifices for the welfare of your churches and schools, but your constancy and the noble liberality of many amongst you have not been unrewarded. In the enjoyment of precious rights and liberties which you have inherited from your fathers, you look towards the future with hope, while you respect in the past, and yourselves strive to maintain, that fidelity to truth and conscience which for so many generations has kept your Church steadfast to the grand faith that first erected its temples, as you hold them still, "to the glory of the one only God."

It affords us great pleasure to join with you in a celebration so impressively recalling the striking circumstances under which your Church was founded. Strange as it seems, considering how late it was in the history of the first Christian centuries before the doctrine of the Trinity was established, yours is the oldest Unitarian Church now existing in the world. But you are the offspring of the Reformation, and when in other countries the principles of the Reformation were only partially accepted, the founders of your Church resolutely applied them to a more thorough examination of the truth, and were thus enabled to restore amongst you the simplicity of the early Christian faith. In this great and important work the first Bishop of your Churches was eminently distinguished. You do well to honour his memory. To him chiefly you owe your Unitarianism; and though he taught with little encouragement at the time the special views that are associated with his name, and for which indeed he suffered, being "wounded in the house of his friends," the main point for which he contended has long constituted a fundamental tenet of Unitarian belief; whilst in churches of every denomination at the present day the conviction is widely spreading that the true value of Christ's work can only be rightly estimated in the light of his genuine humanity.

But it is not chiefly on account of his particular opinions that you take becoming pride in the remembrance of Francis Dávid. You honour in him the scholarly mind always open to fresh inspirations of truth, the trust in the value and power of truth, and the benevolent zeal that suffered him not to hide the light of his solemn convictions,—and, above all, the steadfast faithfulness that would not deny them under the severest trial. May the fidelity to truth which we reverence in him be ever the guiding principle of our own Christian profession!

In the grand career which lies before you as a Church, it will prove of great service to you that you possess the tradition of a name so sacred to liberty, but not less to learning and culture. It was indeed fortunate for you that some of your leading Reformers were the principals of your chief Academical Institution, and that therefore Unitarianism grew up in Transylvania in close connection with the cause of education. We rejoice to know that you still cherish this ideal of the union of piety and culture, and that the gratification we have received from our recent more intimate acquaintance we largely owe to the value you set upon a learned and well-trained ministry. We attach the more importance to this, as materially affecting the welfare of your people, from the fact, that while surrounded by rising nationalities to which your example may become of immense consequence, yours is the only country in which communities of Unitarians have subsisted for successive generations, and in whose experience may be witnessed, in a perfectly unique manner, the salutary influence in civil life of the simple faith to which you have for three centuries adhered in the spirit of your great Reformer—a religion that professes to be above all things true to the highest conceptions and hopes of human nature—a religion alike profitable for the life that now is and for the life which is to come—the religion of trust towards God and love to all mankind.

We earnestly pray that the blessing of the Eternal may abide continually upon you, and that you may be privileged to see the good fruit of your labours as a Church of Christ in the growing virtues of your people, and in their increasing desire to glorify the Father in heaven by seeking to promote His kingdom of equal brotherhood amongst men.

DAVID MARTINEAU, President of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.

HENRY IERSON, Secretary.

This Address was also read in a Hungarian version by Dr. Árpád Gyergyai. During the reading it was frequently applauded; two days after, it appeared in extenso in the Kolozsvár *Magyar Polgár* (Hungarian Citizen), and was greatly

admired. In accordance with a resolution moved by the Worshipful John Hajós, Royal Councillor, the following reply was subsequently given to it :

To the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, grace and blessing of the only one God.

Dear Christian Brethren,

We are fulfilling the most pleasant duty when we answer your hearty and brotherly letter of congratulation sent to us on the occasion of the Tercentenary Festival, held at Székely Keresztúr, to commemorate the martyr-death of our first Bishop, Francis Dávid. Allow us, first of all, to express our most sincere thanks for the kindness with which you deputed the Rev. Alexander Gordon, of Belfast, to represent your Association at our meeting. He acted in his representative function so that we, as well as you, may be proud of him. Therefore we cannot but express in this letter also our warmest thanks to him and to the Rev. Andrew Chalmers, who has honoured us also with his presence. We looked for this celebration with a great interest, and had great expectations as for the results of it ; and what we expected came about ; for the celebration succeeded so well that it will no doubt leave the most remarkable traces in our religious life, and it may be considered as a great victory of liberal Christianity in this country. In this success we owe much to the presence of our English friends, and to the interest they have taken in all the proceedings, and in general to their most reasonable acting during their visit here.

You remembered in your Address with warm sentiments the friendly connection and intercourse which existed for more than fifty years between the English and Hungarian Unitarian Churches. We always valued and appreciated very highly this brotherly connection, and as it was our chief aim in the past to uphold and make it stronger, surely now, when we are able to see its high bearing upon our own circumstances, it must be our duty to make it as intimate and lasting as we possibly can. When we look at the face of your Churches, upon which is sitting a tender charm of youth, and in the veins of which is pulsating the blood of a fresh and vigorous life, our much tried and troubled body regains its former powers again ; and we have no doubt that you also find pleasure and advantage in looking at our old Churches, from the complexion of which you may read and study the rich experiences, the great struggles and hopeful efforts, of a past of 300 years. The names of our noble English visitors live in our fresh memory and honour, and are recollected with the most pleasant associations ; and our young men who have visited you and studied in your Theological College, and some of whom have already become distinguished men through a long and conscientious work, entertain the most grateful recollections of the friend-

ship they enjoyed there, and feel a great indebtedness for all the knowledge and experience, the advantage and usefulness of which they cannot sufficiently value.

But to return to our Synod, we must feel very thankful to the Divine Providence that the great principles of religious freedom and the freedom of conscience, which our Churches confessed now for more than 300 years, attained such a power in the minds of our countrymen, that we could celebrate the martyr-death of our great Reformer with the encouragement of all the friends of liberal views in the different denominations. As you also noticed in your letter, he really deserved it from us, both as the founder of Unitarianism in this part of the world, and as an indefatigable apostle of seeking after truth, whose light of genius has thrown forward its rays for three centuries, shewing the way on which we have to proceed, step by step, to a purer knowledge of the kingdom of God. It gave unquestionably a high importance to our celebration that the same principle for the confession of which Francis Dávid was condemned 300 years ago, has wrought up its way so as to become the leading idea of all the advancing Churches in the Christian world, and to be the ground-principle for the reformation which this age so urgently wants.

As for the proceedings of our meeting, your representatives will with all probability give you full information; nevertheless, we must also mention some of the more prominent transactions.

Now, as on other occasions of this kind, the services formed one of the most important parts of the proceedings, and in connection with these the ordination of eight young ministers took place.

Besides the memorial service, Francis Dávid's celebration was made memorable by a fund bearing his name, and by his biography, written for this occasion. The former was started by Joseph Ferencz, our highly honoured Bishop, and raised up to the sum of 11,000 florins by the contributions of zealous Unitarians and many other friends of Unitarian views, among whom there are Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, and Jews, and some of the Greek Church. The above sum may be considered as a noteworthy sign of the real attachment and generosity of our people. The Synod decided that the income of the fund should be used for ecclesiastical and literary purposes.

The work of the Hon. Alexis Jakab, our distinguished historian, is the result of thirty years' diligent research, and contains the history of the chief reformatory movements of our country in the 16th century. To the work are appended the more important documents, and altogether it is an achievement which would well deserve a translation into English. One of our great benefactors, Mr. Benjamin Kelemen, has displayed his liberality by laying down on this occasion a fund of 5000 florins to our Church, and by giving 500 florins, partly to Francis Dávid's fund, partly to the author of Francis Dávid's biography.

And if we finally mention that our present Synod, which lasted three days, made many arrangements with respect to religious and educational affairs, we may conclude our letter with the gratifying conviction that our memorial meeting has been a service, not only of the present, but of the future also, into which we look with hopes, relying upon the Divine grace which was hitherto our help and safety.

And now, dear friends, accept our warmest greetings. We pray the only one living God with heartfelt sentiments that He may pour His blessing in abundance upon your Churches and ours, so that through our united work His name may be glorified for ever and ever.

Your faithful Brethren,

G. DANIEL, General Curator.

JOSEPH FERENCZ, Bishop of the Unitarian Churches in Hungary.

A. KOVÁCSI, Secretary.

From the Synod of the Hungarian Unitarians, held at Székely Keresztúr on 24—26 of Aug. 1879.

I was the bearer also of Latin Addresses from the Irish Association of Non-subscribing Presbyterians and other Free Christians, and from the Ulster Unitarian Christian Association. These Addresses, as well as a Resolution from the Free Congregational Union (Ireland), were in like manner honoured with separate replies.

Of the first day's Synodical meeting, the chief feature was the religious service, culminating in the Lord's Supper. On the second day the special ceremony was that of the consecration of eight ministers. The characteristics of these functions have been admirably detailed by Mr. Tayler. They have also been recently described in our newspapers. I will not repeat what has been thus familiarized; simply recording that the preacher on the first day was the Rev. Denis Péterfi; on the second, Professor John Kovács. The celebrant at the Communion service was Rev. John Albert, of Torda; the prayer after the consecration of ministers was given by Rev. Michael Kiss, Rural Dean of the Sepsí-Miklósvári circuit. The greatest popular interest on both days was concentrated in the Bishop's addresses; that on the first day, on the moral and spiritual elements of Francis Dávid's character, being confessedly the gem of the whole celebration.

The church and collegiate buildings at Székely-Keresztúr are situated at the extreme south of the town, in a quiet suburb. Had these structures been enlarged threefold, they would barely have sufficed to contain the numbers anxious to gain admission on the various public occasions. Among those honouring the meetings with their presence, a conspicuous figure was that of the Very Rev. Andreas Demeter, Roman Catholic Dean of Udvarhely, a clergyman whose friendly visit Mr. Chalmers and I had an opportunity of returning at his own residence. His presence was perhaps the most significant instance of public homage tendered to a noble principle of religious life in Transylvania. What is elsewhere regarded as a paradox, exists there as an impressive fact, the union of perfect tolerance with fervent zeal. The establishment of this union dates from the patriotic struggles of 1848, when brave men of every faith sat at the same councils, fought on the same battle-fields, and rotted in the same dungeons, for the great common cause of the national liberties.

Of the festive adjuncts to the Synodical meeting, Mr. Tayler has presented a lifelike picture, still answering in all its essential features to the practice of to-day. Liqueurs are not now handed round before dinner; but the daily and early banquet of innumerable courses, with lively speeches filling the intervals; the stirring and often plaintive airs thrown in continually by national musicians of gipsey race; and the unfailing oratory and real eloquence of the extemporary addresses, continue to excite the wonder and admiration of visitors. A Transylvanian public dinner partakes of the nature of a *conversazione*. The guests are at liberty to move about and greet their friends if they please; and though they drink freely of light pure wine deluged with mineral water, that they do not drink too freely may be gathered from the circumstance that there is always an after-dinner session, at which work is resumed all the more sedulously in consequence of the intervening period of refreshment.

In addition to routine business and the confirmation of the year's work of the Representative Council, two important topics especially engaged the attention of this year's meeting. The Francis Dávid Memorial Fund, amounting to over £1100, was vested in the chief curators, and its interest allocated to literary, ecclesiastical, and charitable objects. The curriculum of clerical education was carefully considered ; and though the desired extension of the plan of studies at Keresztúr was not resolved upon, owing to financial considerations, a plan was adopted by which the Kolozsvár alumni will receive practical instruction in agriculture and gardening at an institution for the purpose, the *Gazdasági Tanintézet* in Kolozs-Monostor. This will be of great advantage to the future race of country clergy.

Rather than enter into fuller details of the business and incidents of this particular meeting, I propose to furnish here some account of the general organization of the Hungarian Church ; which forms a very interesting study, and of which, I believe, no accurate description has yet appeared in English. In doing this I shall employ, in place of the antiquated and discarded Latin terminology, the native names for the various offices which are at present in use.

The religious body whose meetings I was deputed to attend, though existing as yet as an organized community only in Transylvania (with the single exception of the church just formed at Holdmező-Vásárhely, in the heart of the great plain of Hungary), is officially known as the Hungarian Unitarian Church. It consists of 106 churches, not including those which do not support a regular ministry, and numbers some 60,000 souls. As a distinct religious body, it may be dated from the appointment of Francis Dávid as Bishop of the Hungarian Churches. It obtained full toleration at the Edict of Torda, 1568. It did not, however, so far as I can learn, assume the name Unitarian before the Episcopate of Daniel Béke, who became Bishop in 1636. This Church receives no

State aid whatever, except that, on the formation of a new community of Unitarians with a regular ministry in any town or district, the State is bound to set apart a free piece of land as the site for a place of worship. Until 1848, the Unitarian religion was "received" or tolerated only in Transylvania. The Pozsony (Pressburg) Diet of 1848 made it lawful throughout the kingdom of Hungary, and the Church at once assumed the national title which she now proudly wears. But after 1848 came the fifteen years' "confusion." It was not till 13th June, 1869, that the first Unitarian service was held at Budapest, in the Consistorial Hall of the Calvinistic church, the preacher being the present Bishop Ferencz.

The supreme Governing Body of the Hungarian Unitarian Church is the Ecclesiastical Chief Council (*Egyházi Főtanács*). Its constitution is peculiar. Though it is the supreme court of the Church, it stands in no organic relation to the Ecclesiastical Circuits (*Egyházi Körök* or *Egyházkörnyékek*) over which it presides. It is described and addressed as a Worshipful (*méltóságos*) and Chief Reverend (*főtisztelendő*) corporation. A self-elected, or rather a co-optative body, not limited as to the number of its members (at present there are 325 councillors), it consists of laity and clergy in the proportion at present of about four to one. New members are proposed from the chair; and if no objection is raised to their admission, they are then sworn in. I may state that the special Unitarian form of oath-taking consists in uplifting the right thumb. This is understood to typify the Unity of God. Members and officials once chosen are chosen for life. Practically, the office-bearers of the eight ecclesiastical circuits, as well as all other persons deemed suitable for membership, are elected as ecclesiastical councillors (*Egyházi Tanácsosok*); so that, in point of fact, few, if any, individual churches remain unrepresented. But the churches of Kolozsvár and Torda are the only ones which can claim of right to nominate their own representatives. It has been in contemplation to

introduce a more directly representative system for the whole Church ; at present the mode of election is as I have described. The Ecclesiastical Chief Council thus constituted has always two Presidents (*Elnökök*) sitting side by side, viz. one of the two Chief Curators (*Főgondnokok*), who are necessarily laymen, and the Bishop. It has also an Ecclesiastical Chief Notary (*Egyházi Főjegyző*), who must be a clergyman, and ranks next to the Bishop ; a Chief Director of Public Business (*Főközügyigazgató*) ; special Notaries (*Jegyzők*) for Education and Finance ; a Treasurer (*Pénztárnok*) and two Finance Committees ; a Legal Adviser (*Jogügyész*) and Committee of Rights ; an Educational Committee ; Trustees for the Augustinovichs and Farkas Benefactions ; and a Bureau (*Iroda*).

Once a year in any case, and oftener if required, this Worshipful Body meets at Kolozsvár as the Ecclesiastical Chief Council. The meetings are always opened on a Sunday. Every fourth year it assembles in one or other of the eight Ecclesiastical Circuits, which for this purpose are arranged in five groups, and each group is visited alternately. On the occasion of this quadrennial meeting, and then only, the Body assumes the title of Synodical Chief Council (*Zsinati Főtanács*). The distinction is rather one of ceremonial than of authority. On the first day of a Synodical meeting, the Lord's Supper is celebrated ; this is not the case at ordinary meetings of the Chief Council. On the second day of a Synodical meeting, the consecration (*felszentelés*) of ministers is held ; this rite being never performed at any other time. Moreover, only at a Synodical meeting can the Bishop, the Chief Notary, or Chief Curators, be elected. In all other respects the powers, as well as the personality, of the Synodical Chief Council and the Ecclesiastical Chief Council are identical. To the Chief Council belong the duties of exercising the power of inspection over the work of the Bishop and Rural Deans ; confirming all appointments of the Ecclesiastical Circuits, including the election of Rural Deans, hearing appeals ; fixing the

amount of stipends ; seeing that ecclesiastical and educational structures and foundations are kept in order ; authorizing the issue of symbolical books ; and in general supervising the whole work of the Church.

Identical in personality with this Body is the Ecclesiastical Representative Council (*Egyházi Képviselő Tanács*) ; which is called Representative, not because it is chosen out of the Ecclesiastical Chief Council by way of delegation, but because it represents the Church in the eye of the Government, and acts for it in any emergency. The Representative Council meets at Kolozsvár every Sunday, except the first in the month. Every Ecclesiastical Councillor has a right to attend and vote. Practically, of course, the Councillors living at Kolozsvár constitute the meeting ; but zealous members from a distance occasionally make a point of being present, and all may come whenever they think it necessary. At this meeting it is sufficient if *one* of the Presidents takes the chair. The Representative Council has power to make any arrangements for the conduct of Church offices or Church business which circumstances may require ; but its appointments possess validity only till the Chief Council meets. At Kolozsvár, under the care and custody of the Representative Council, the archives of the Churches, and trust-deeds of all Church property, are conveniently deposited.

The clergy of the Hungarian Unitarian Church are of three ranks, the Bishop (*Püspök*), the Rural Deans (*Esperesek*), and the Pastors (*Papok*). *Püspök* is of course *Episkopos* ; the Pastor's title is also Greek, for *Pap* is *pappas* or *papas* (Latin *papa*), which, originally belonging to all priests, is now restricted in the Latin Church to the occupant of the Roman See. The Pope *par excellence* is *Pápa* in Hungarian. *Esperes* is a corrupted form, on the etymology of which I could not get any certain light from our friends in Transylvania. English visitors have usually rendered it Archdeacon, but this is certainly wrong. The Roman Catholics use it as equivalent

to Probst (*præpositus*) or Dechant (*decanus*). I believe it to be Greek, like the other clerical titles, a corruption of *archipresbyteros*. I am confirmed in this etymology by observing that the old form of the word is *esperest*, and the Illyrian synonyme, *jesprist*. It will thus signify Dean ("Archipresbyteri qui a pluribus decani nuncupantur," Innoc. III. De Offic. Archidiacon. c. 7); not Dean in the sense of the *præpositus* of a Cathedral Chapter, but *Decanus regionarius* or Rural Dean.

The Bishop, who must be a Hungarian, is chosen by ballot at a Synodical Chief Council. The election must be confirmed by the King's Patent. In this Patent, I may remark, the word employed is still Superintendent, though the title of Bishop is allowed by law. The Bishop is admitted into his office by a solemn form of oath-taking; but there is no ecclesiastical ceremony observed. So far as concerns the doctrine of Holy Order, the Hungarian Church is strictly Presbyterian. In addition to presiding at Councils, the Bishop has some ecclesiastical powers which will be mentioned shortly. He is addressed as Chief Reverend (*Főtisztelendő*).

The Rural Deans are selected, by the Constitutional Assembly in each ecclesiastical circuit, from the Pastors in that circuit; and their election is confirmed by the Chief Council. They, in common with other Pastors, are addressed as Reverend (*Tisztelendő*). The application of this title to Protestant pastors is peculiar to Transylvania. In Hungary the form is Revered (*Tiszteletes*), the other title being reserved for Roman Catholics.

Pastors are chosen by the open vote of the male stipend-payers in each Church, or, where no fixed stipend is paid, by the votes of all males of full age. Patronage has long been abolished. The Church sends up to the Bishop the names of three selected candidates, and the rule is that the Bishop confers the appointment on the candidate possessing the majority of votes. A Church may dismiss its minister; but if this is done within three years from his settlement, the

next appointment belongs absolutely to the Bishop. This is likewise the case if the minister resigns within three years. While a Church is vacant, the Rural Dean appoints the pulpit supplies, and the neighbouring Pastors are bound to undertake necessary pastoral duty. The Pastor has a residence (*papilak*), a piece of land, a small stipend (usually about £20), and in addition a payment in kind. He must possess a Bible, and he may not marry out of the Unitarian community. In Church services he wears, over a lay garb, the *palást*, a black sleeveless cloak, sweeping the ground. It would be interesting to connect this with the *pallium*; but I believe the root of the word is rather to be sought in *palatium*. It is the term also for a kingly robe. The oath of pastoral fidelity taken at consecration has never, I believe, contained any dogmatic stipulation. I append the present form of consecration certificate, which is now issued in Magyar. A new clause has replaced those expressions in the old Latin form which called forth the criticism of Mr. Tayler. I should say, however, that the former prohibition of all innovation upon Scripture language was intended and regarded as a safeguard of freedom, by interdicting the use of such ecclesiastical terms as Trinity, &c.

We, the Bishop of the Unitarian Christian Holy-Mother-Church, in the Kingdom of Hungary, with the Rural Deans of the Ecclesiastical Circuits, and the other regular members of the Synodical Chief Council, hereby make known to all whom it concerns :

That the bearer of this our present writing, our beloved brother in the Lord, the Reverend Mr. A. B., we, after beseeching amid our ecclesiastical solemn ceremonies, to wit from God, as the Fountain of light, the gift of the Holy Spirit, with imposition of our hands, have sent forth lawfully and solemnly to the holy service of God's word; giving him authority and freedom for the fulfilment and enjoyment of every action, right and duty pertaining to the pastoral office, and for the teaching, exposition, and free proclamation of the truths of the Christian religion, in such spirit and tenor as in our religious assemblies, standing on the ground of the Gospel, he may the more powerfully bring these truths forth in accordance with sound insight and upright strong conviction, proceeding from conscientious

research and study on the part of himself or others, for the health of souls entrusted to his charge, the building up of our Holy-Mother-Church, the furtherance of the kingdom of God, and of the spread of truth, freedom, love and peace; inasmuch as he himself hath sacredly engaged himself, by his oath publicly taken, as for all these things, so likewise for the pursuit of a blameless moral life, and for hearty and persevering labour in the whole round of his office.

In confirmation of which things, lo, we have given forth this certificate, fortified with the common seal of our Chief Council and the signatures of the Bishop and Chief Notary, from our meeting of the Synodical Chief Council assembled at ——. In the year of the Lord one thousand —, in the month of —, on the — day.

This is a wordy, but it cannot be called an illiberal document. The law of the Church is, that all Professors, as well as Pastors, shall be thus consecrated. This rule, however, is not strictly adhered to, except in the case of Professors of Theology.

Next to the Pastor, in the internal arrangements of individual churches, comes the Schoolmaster (*iskolamester* or *iskolatanító*). This is an important functionary. Like the old Scotch *Dominie*, he is also the Precentor (*énekevezér*, song-vizier), and the Organist (*orgonás*) to boot, for the Transylvanian churches all have organs, and some of them very fine instruments. In the official Year-book (*Névtár*) of the Church, the name of the Teacher (*tanító*) is entered side by side with that of the Clergyman (*lelkész*); and in the absence of the Pastor on official duty, the Schoolmaster is bound to preach. It should be remembered that he has received a full theological education, going through precisely the same classes as the clergy. He it is who begins every public service by starting the (unannounced) hymn. While it is singing, the Pastor enters and takes his place in the clergy-seat (*papszék*) below the pulpit, which is always built of stone against the wall, and usually entered through the thickness of the wall. Not till the hymn is closing does the Pastor ascend the pulpit.

Daily service, consisting of hymns and prayer, is held in

the early morning at five, six, or eight o'clock, according to the hour when work begins ; and in the afternoon at three, four, or five. In the country these services, especially the early one, are largely attended ; not so in the towns. The principal Sunday service is at ten or eleven ; punctuality of commencement, as in our Irish country congregations, is a minor consideration. Scripture is never read as a lesson ; though the afternoon Sunday sermon is frequently, as in Scotland, the exposition of a chapter or a parable. While the text is being read, the whole congregation stands up. The service consists of hymns, often an anthem, prayer, and preaching. The public Hymn-book contains 110 compositions, arranged in the manner of a Christian year, and 34 selected Psalms. All these, with their tunes, are rude and ancient, and do not now satisfy the taste of the more cultured. The collection might thus be extended with advantage ; but it could not be superseded without hazard. These old hymns and simple melodies are fixed in the memories and rooted in the hearts of the people. A stranger may not be easily susceptible of their charm ; but, as with Rous' Psalms in Scotland, their religious influence is great. Prayers are usually, though not invariably, read ; either a manuscript or a printed collection being employed. There is no prescribed book of prayer, but the Unitarian religious literature is especially rich in such collections, which are much appreciated also by members of other Churches. The best and most popular is a valuable work by Bishop Ferencz, "Agenda of Church Rites" (*Egyházszertartási Dolgozatok*). It is the custom to conclude every prayer with the Lord's Prayer. The pew system is unknown in Transylvania, for it is against the law of the Church to allot special sittings to any persons, however wealthy. The seats are open and wide benches. Men and women sit apart in opposite sides of the Church, and facing each other. Four times in the year the Holy Communion is administered, at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and Michaelmas, the last

occasion being also treated as a harvest thanksgiving. Here, as also with us in Ireland, the Communion is the great act of united worship, its celebration bringing out every member who can possibly attend. In each church edifice a large square central space is left vacant to accommodate the communicants, who partake of the ordinance standing around the table in successive relays, the men communicating before the women.

The Pastor, Schoolmaster, Curators, and Church session (*presbiterium*) constitute the official body for managing the concerns of individual Churches, and are known as the Inner Men (*belső emberek*) as having special Church function. These Inner Men, assembled from all the Churches in an Ecclesiastical Circuit, with the addition of the Ecclesiastical Councillors living within its bounds, constitute the Ecclesiastical Circuit Assembly (*Egyházközi Közgyűlés*). These Assemblies meet once a year, or oftener if necessary, in each Circuit, taking the Churches in rotation as the place of meeting. Of these Circuits there are eight; in Francis Dávid's time there were thirteen. The business of their annual Assembly is to see generally that the work of the Church is efficiently carried on. Subject to the confirmation of the Chief Council, the Assembly elects the Rural Dean, Notary, General Director (*Közügy-igazgató*), and one or more Curators for the Circuits. These officers, with two supernumeraries and a Marriage Proctor (*Házasságvéd*), form the Judges of the Under-Pastoral Bench (*Alpapi Szék*), which in each Circuit is the Court of Ecclesiastical Judicature. It meets once a year at the same time as the Assembly; at other times, as required, at the residences of the members in rotation. An important part of its function is the conduct of divorce cases. The Unitarian Church has power of pronouncing divorce, and the precedent of the founder for exercising it, since Dávid himself was divorced in 1576. Divorce is obtained more readily through the Unitarians than through other religious bodies; hence persons from all parts of Austria and Hungary desirous of obtaining

matrimonial release, are in the habit of becoming, at least temporarily, members of the Unitarian Church. The validity of this method of divorce beyond Hungary is now, I believe, being questioned in the Vienna law-courts. From the Under Pastoral Bench a divorce case is passed on to the Chief Pastoral Bench (*Főpapi Szék*) at Kolozsvár, which practically settles the matter. An appeal to the Chief Council, though possible, is very rarely taken. Anciently the Representative Council heard and decided divorce cases; the Chief Pastoral Bench is now the authorized Commission to act in its stead for this purpose. Its decisions, however, are formally pronounced by the Representative Council.

Having mentioned this subject of divorce, it would be unjust to dismiss it without a further observation. The ideal and practice of the home life, as well as the general moral tone, of the Szekler people, who constitute the effective strength of the Unitarian body, is exceptionally pure and high. Criminal lesions of the marriage bond are exceedingly rare. That the customs of their Church afford to outsiders too great facilities for gaining divorce, is owned and deplored by many Unitarians, and I believe that existing regulations are likely to be reformed. Nowhere have I seen happier and more united families than in Transylvania. The warmth of home love, and the simplicity of home respect, are unsullied by foreign influence, and both touching and noble in their patriarchal character.

Our Church in Hungary has no Unitarian Association and no Sunday-school system. It requires neither. For the Church itself is a Unitarian Association of the best kind, presenting the Unitarian faith in the form of an active and organized religion. This Church seems, in adopting the Non-subscribing principle, to have taken a firm hold of the opportunity presented by this principle for the affirmative and yet free enunciation of the truths it has attained. Thus it possesses and exercises the power of putting forth from time to time Symbolical Books (*Symbolicus Könyvek*), which derive

their validity from the fact that they are the living voice of the living mind of the Church, and which are subject to recal, modification, or re-issue, by the same authority that originally sanctioned them. The modern publications of this class are of great excellence and liberality. I have been especially pleased with the Unitarian Catechism (*Unitárius Káté*), drawn up for the instruction of confirmation candidates by Bishop Ferencz, and ratified by the Chief Council. This embraces no mere scheme of doctrine, but gives a full and clear account of the history, principles, and religious customs of the community. There is a companion work by the same author, the "Little Unitarian Mirror" (*Unitárius Kis Tükör*), which contains, in admirably condensed form, all that is necessary for the understanding of the historical relations and constitutional position of the Church. This, I think, bears no *imprimatur*. By the aid of such manuals, the youth of our Hungarian Church are educated in our history and principles, and in the polity of their own communion, with an intelligent exactness to which we have no sufficient parallel in this country. Confirmation, a solemn introduction to the Church at the age of twelve or fourteen, practically means religious instruction. The rite is of the simplest. Not the Bishop, but the local Pastor, examines and receives the young people of his flock; and the endeavour is to make them thoroughly conversant with the objects and the spirit of the body to which they belong. Persecution, no doubt, has sifted the people; but to this thorough and wise instruction I attribute in great measure the significant fact that an indifferent Unitarian is as rare in Transylvania as it is unhappily common with us.

It may be expected that I should say something of the type of Unitarian doctrine prevalent in Transylvania; but here I speak with caution, as it is always difficult to penetrate to the real mind of a Non-subscribing body. Arianism is unknown, except among members of the Reformed Church, where some-

thing like it exists, and, in Transylvania as distinguished from Hungary, possibly predominates. The Pre-existence of Christ is, however, an article of belief with many, perhaps most, of the country Unitarians, and I am told it is tenaciously held. On some points the accepted principles of Scripture exegesis vary considerably from those adopted in this country ; I may mention, for example, that no effort is made to remove from the sacred text the appearance of the ascription of the title of God to Christ, such ascription being explained on the "I said ye are Gods" principle. The religious worship of Christ has disappeared altogether from the public services, and has somewhat recently been removed from the metrical "Chief Points of Christian Belief" (*Keresztény hit főágazati*), sung at occasions of Confirmation. In the 1837 edition of the Hymn-book occurs this line,

Én Jézus Krisztust imadom, Phil. ii. 10,

"I worship Jesus Christ." This is altered in the present (1865) edition to

Én is ez úr Jézust vallom, Acts ii. 36,

"I also confess this Lord Jesus." One of the discourses delivered on the occasion of the Synodical meeting by Rev. Francis Györfy, dealt expressly with Dávid's views on this matter, strongly defending them. On this and other points, the Dávid commemoration is likely to exert a fresh and powerful stimulus in recommending his opinions. The influence of the students successively trained at Manchester New College, who now largely lead the Church, will tend in the same direction. As might have been expected, the teaching of this younger school is reckoned a little too novel by some of the older heads ; yet doctrinal differences do not disturb the peace of the Church, nor should they, where wise moderation and Christian sympathy exist on both sides. Doctrinal preaching is not, I think, generally popular. Polemical preaching is expressly discouraged. A canon of the Church forbids preachers to attack other preachers, or the beliefs of other

communions, "but let them quietly teach our principles." I am afraid that in England this admirable and wholesome law would prove as irksome as a creed.

I was greatly struck with the evident signs of the influence of the Unitarian literature, more especially the historical and devotional literature, outside the Unitarian Church. It is no exaggeration to say that I did not enter a bookseller's shop, in any part of Hungary or Transylvania, without finding Unitarian works on the shelves. The effect of Professor Simén's writings has been particularly wide. His portrait and biography appear in the Protestant New Illustrated Almanac (*Protestáns Új Képes Naptár*) for 1880, edited at Budapest by Alexander Dúzs, a Calvinistic Professor. The "Christian Seedsower" (*Keresztény Magvető*) I found in all the Libraries of the Reformed or Calvinistic Church, as well as in the hands of individual Professors and clergy of that community. The Unitarians have no denominational newspaper; but the columns of the ordinary press are open to their articles and intelligence,—the secular press most freely, and the religious press to some extent as well. [I observe a report of our Cannon-Street meeting in *Egyetértés* (Unanimity), a Budapest newspaper, of 24th October.]

We should be too sanguine if we anticipated that the influence of Unitarian literature in Hungary should at once produce numerous secessions to the Unitarian Church. Conversion to another religion is a business which implies certain legal and semi-public formalities, which many are deterred from carrying out. The process is as follows. Taking two witnesses, the person who wishes to join another religion (who must be eighteen years of age, or, if a woman, marriageable) goes to his existing pastor and makes a declaration of his intention. The pastor grants him a certificate to this effect; or should he demur, the certificate of the two witnesses is sufficient. At an interval of not less than fourteen or more than thirty days, the applicant returns, and goes through

precisely the same form once more. He then takes the two certificates to a pastor of the Church he wishes to join, who registers his name, and apprizes the former pastor that the process is completed. It is clear that this interval of a fortnight gives room for the exercise of much social and domestic pressure on the intending convert. At the same time it guarantees thorough earnestness and resolution on the part of those who come over. The example of Hóld-Mező-Vásárhely, where a nucleus of twenty members, under the leadership of Mr. Andrew Szametz, have come out bodily from the Reformed Church, may be expected to tell on other towns of Hungary, so soon as we have established a recognized footing in the capital.

It would extend this Report almost indefinitely and be foreign to its immediate aim, if I pursued the account of my journeyings in Transylvania and Hungary after the close of the Synodical meetings. My object was to gain some direct knowledge of the every-day life and thought of the Szeklers and the Magyars, of all varieties of faith. In company with Mr. Chalmers, I visited some of the most ancient and thriving of the Unitarian communities in the neighbourhood of Székely Keresztúr. We were the guests together of Mr. Denis Pálfi, to whose hospitality and kindness, as well as that of Baron Orbán and Mr. Sigismund Jakabházi, we owe much of the pleasure and instructiveness of our visit. We attended the weekly service at Korond, and a Sunday service in the handsome church of Szentmihály. At Énlaka we examined the oldest existing church structure in Unitarian hands, a gem of rural gothic, dating in parts from the 15th century, and preserving the only extant inscription in the ancient Szekler alphabet. Most of the Unitarian churches in the district possess bells of great antiquity ; that at Tarcasfalva is dated 1481. While Mr. Chalmers returned to Kolozsvár, I penetrated further eastward to the district of Csik, and was present at the annual proceedings of the Szekler Union (*Székely Egylet*), a

patriotic Society newly formed, without reference to creeds, for the maintenance and extension of Szekler prosperity. Our friend John Hajós is the President, and Aaron Buzogány the Secretary. Francis Kosma, whose able work on the Szeklerland was recently crowned by the Union, is also a Unitarian. It was delightful and encouraging to find our people thus leading and directing the energies of Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinistic compatriots. With a company of cultured young men, including two Catholic priests, I explored the natural beauties and archaic associations of the whole district. I visited in this remote quarter one of the largest of the Unitarian communities, that at Árkos, under the pastoral care of Rev. Michael Kiss, Rural Dean, a patriarchal scholar. The church at Árkos has the aspect of a fortification, its enclosure being surrounded with a high embattled wall, strengthened by ancient towers of solid masonry. I saw something of the Saxon settlements in the neighbourhood of Brassó (Kronstadt), and from that city beheld the full splendour of the Carpathians. In several large towns of Hungary, Arad, Szolnok, and especially Debreczen, I came in contact with the pure Magyar race. At Debreczen, where a General Convention of the Reformed Church was sitting, I became acquainted with the chief leaders, lay and clerical, of that Church, including the five Superintendents or Bishops. *Püspök*, I may observe in passing, is, among Protestants, a title peculiar to the Calvinists and Unitarians of Transylvania; in Hungary itself the chief pastors of the Reformed are styled *Superintendens*. Thus favoured by circumstances, I learned a great deal of the actual condition, social and spiritual, of this most interesting country.

It would be wrong to pass over in silence two matters, arising out of the Synodical meeting, which confirmed, I think, some of its best endeavours. The sermon of Mr. Chalmers at Kolozsvár, following his many excellent speeches, drew the attention of the German element to our position and principles

with new and marked effect. The appreciation of Mr. Chalmers' work shewn by our friends at Kolozsvár was not only one of the most gratifying character, but was most thoroughly earned by his efforts. The memorial service held at Déva, where Rev. Denis Péterfi preached in the Reformed Church, on the invitation of Rev. Alexander Szócs, was an extension of our lines in another direction, with no less salutary result. These two events may claim to be reckoned among the most promising signs of a greater future for the Unitarian influence and spirit.

In reading the narrative of Mr. Tayler's journey to Transylvania (in the *Theological Review* for January, 1869), and comparing it with my own experiences, I derive the impression that Mr. Tayler's visit occurred just at the close of an old state of things which has passed or is rapidly passing away. Partly owing to the introduction of English thought and culture, which has been steadily going on since 1860; partly owing to the personal influence of Bishop Ferencz; partly owing to the new development of Hungarian nationality, our Church in Transylvania is losing some of its antique cast and its provincial features. It is not without significance that the forms of ecclesiastical procedure have been de-latinized. Latin, which was the medium of all school instruction till 1848, and which must, like every dead language, have been to a certain extent a constraint upon the free expansion of ideas, is now completely disused. By the younger men it is forgotten, while a native literature, embracing every department of thought and science, has sprung up. The long cultivation of the Latin tongue in Hungary is to be explained in part by the presence of so large a body of Wallach settlers in the country, amounting in Transylvania to two-thirds of a population reaching only two millions and a half in all. Every business man is bound at the present day to know the Wallach speech (*román*), a corrupt dialect of Latin, in addition to German, and his native Magyar. The Hungarian Latin was never,

I judge, very Ciceronian. Mr. Tayler's amusement at the "somewhat stately style" of a document from which he quotes the phrase *vestris Dominationibus*, translating it "your Lordships," is not unnatural; but *dominatio vestra* is the courteous Hungarian periphrasis for *domine*, and means no more than Sir. The intense nationality of the people, which in Mr. Tayler's time was symbolized by the universal use of a picturesque garb, is not less real and strong to-day: but provincialism has been exchanged for patriotism. With a local costume, the people have laid aside many quaint habits. Smoking is no longer permissible at business meetings, and the young students are forbidden altogether the use of the pipe. A broader civilization and a greater enterprize are still needed to develop the almost inexhaustible natural wealth of this magnificent country. May these blessings, when they come, never banish by their arrival the old simplicity and strength of character, the warm friendliness and eager kindness, which make life in Transylvania a perpetual witness for human brotherhood!

It has been suggested to me that I should say something, in concluding, of the probable causes which have contributed to the striking and unparalleled phenomenon which Transylvania presents in the continuance and prosperity of a Church banned as heretical throughout upwards of three centuries. I can but briefly indicate some of the main factors in this result, as I read them. *First*, I am inclined to place the influence of race. The Szeklers boast that they were always monotheists and monogamists from the beginning; bringing with them out of Asia the creed of unity for the public altar and for the domestic hearth. *Next*, I am disposed to think that the presence in the country, from time to time, of other monotheisms has not been without its effect. Judaism and Islam have acted upon Christian peoples, thrown much into contact with them, in one of two ways. Either they have produced a strong reaction of Trinitarianism, or their presence

has greatly fortified the monotheistic sentiment. The latter I take to have been the case throughout Hungary. *Further*, the Hungarian Unitarian community has a powerfully compact, and at the same time a highly elastic, system of Church order. It is an organization which cannot help respecting itself and being respected. This is a body worth belonging to ; free, autonomous, and yet a solid living reality pervaded by great principles. Persecution has done much to keep aglow the fire of its zeal ; but persecution might have been only too effective, had not the community presented the resistance of a masculine organism, in which all constituent souls were “members one of another.”

In these considerations I say nothing of the possession of Truth, or the providential hand of God. These are causes which will necessarily be taken into the account, and to which, of course, all other agencies are subsidiary. Nevertheless, such agencies are neither unimportant nor uninformative. In the outset, the Unitarian movement was fostered by princes and utilized by statesmen ; to be flung aside and hunted down so soon as its radically emancipating character became fully apparent. Yet the movement, rooted from the first in the conscience of a people, could not be killed, and did not die. Princes perish and statesmen fail ; the devotion of earnest and united men abides. After long and sore trials valiantly borne, the Hungarian Unitarian Church rejoices at length in the assured victory of faith and freedom. Her spirit has triumphed, her cause is honoured, her witness is felt. “The hills stand about Jerusalem : even so standeth the Lord round about his people, from this time forth for evermore.”

ALX. GORDON.

BELFAST, 18 OCT. 1879.

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- 1860-62. Dominic Simén.—Rector of the Gymnasium at Székely Keresztur, 1863. Professor of Exegetical Theology and Philosophy at Kolozsvár, 1866. Joint editor of the *Christian Seedsower* 1870. Chief Notary of the Ecclesiastical Council, 1877. Born 30th July, 1836; died 9th Sept. 1878.
- 1863-66. Gregory Benczédi.—Professor of Physics and Chemistry at Kolozsvár.
- 1866-68. Gabriel Uzoni.—Professor and Second Pastor at Kolozsvár, 1869-70; died shortly afterwards.
- 1870-72. John Kovács.—Rector of the Gymnasium at Kolozsvár, and Professor of History and English.
- 1872-74. Charles Derzsi.—Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages, and of Greek and Roman Antiquities, at Torda.
- 1874-76. Denis Péterfi.—Professor of Universal Theology, Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and the History of Philosophy, at Kolozsvár. Second Pastor at Kolozsvár.
- 1877-79. George Boros.—Professor of Biblical Interpretation, Dogmatics, and Hebrew at Kolozsvár.
- 1879- Denis Varga.

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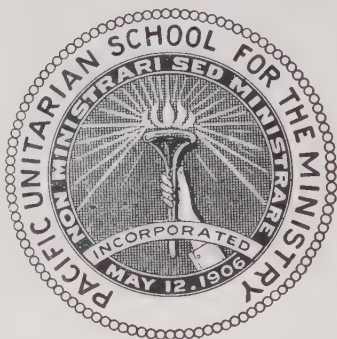
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Andrew Chalmers

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Aug¹¹ 1908

Transylvanian Recollections:

Sketches of

Hungarian Travel and History.

BY

ANDREW CHALMERS.

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DEDICATED

By the Author,

TO ONE,

WHOSE SYMPATHY AND HELP WILL ENABLE HIM,

IN FUTURE, TO AID, MORE EFFECTIVELY,

THE STRUGGLING CAUSE OF CHRISTIAN LIBERALISM

IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE.

CONTENTS.



	PAGE
CHAPTER I—EARLY HUNGARIAN HISTORY	1
II—THE CHURCH OF FRANCIS DAVID.....	9
III—A HUNGARIAN WELCOME.....	17
IV—THE TER-CENTENARY	23
V—ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS	34
VI—THE ORDINATION	45
VII—AMONG THE SZEKLEERS.....	51
VIII—A TRANSYLVANIAN ARCADIA.....	61
IX—HUNGARIAN HOSPITALITY	68
X—THE WALLACKS.	77
XI—A POLITICAL PROPAGANDA	83
XII—AN INTERNATIONAL SERMON	97
XIII—THE PARTING GUEST	107

TRANSYLVANIAN RECOLLECTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HUNGARIAN HISTORY.

WERE it necessary to justify the publication of the following sketches of Hungarian life and history, I might base my claims on the fact that my interest in Hungary is not of recent date. Indeed, metaphorically speaking, my first "Transylvanian Recollections" belong to the earliest part of my career. So long ago as the autumn of 1849, I looked on with a child's curiosity and wonder, while a company of Scotchmen drank to the toast of "Hungarian Liberty," and the phrase, mysterious though it was, imprinted itself on my memory. In the years that followed, when an ominous silence had fallen like a pall over Hungary, I groped after the meaning of Kossuth's impassioned appeals, and vaguely learned that men who loved the darkness were at work. Long after, when well nigh twenty harvests had waved over the revolutionary battle-fields, and Hungary had again become something more than a geographical expression, my interest in her fate was intensified through friendships formed with the students who came from the banks of the Szamos and the Küküllő to sit at the feet of the greatest theologian of the age. Through them, I learned to feel a deeply sympathetic interest in the Liberal Church, which for three centuries has existed like an almost unknown oasis in the religious wilderness of Eastern Europe. My recent visit to Transylvania, as the guest of that church, gave me a

still better opportunity of observing its power to build up a noble life in the hearts and homes of its people. It showed me also how influential it is in teaching the Magyar nationality, that its long-anticipated golden age cannot be reached by the royal road of brilliant martial achievements, or by the devious paths of astute diplomacy, but only by the slow and toilsome ascent to a true Christian civilisation.

The friends whose hospitality I enjoyed have mostly their homes in Transylvania, which is to Hungary proper very much what Scotland is to England. With an area of twenty-one thousand square miles, and a population of nearly two millions and a quarter, this beautiful country is rich in all the blessings of soil, climate and scenery which render life enjoyable. Hungary itself is a highly favoured land, but Transylvania, were it not for race divisions, would be divine. Along with all that contributes to health and wealth, the principality has the further charm of profoundly interesting historical associations. Indeed, it can boast that one of the most magnificent monuments ever raised by human hands, was erected to commemorate its full enrolment on the page of history. The column of Trajan at Rome, with its wondrous spiral band of bas-reliefs, tells to this day of the desperate struggle which broke the power of the ancient Dacians, and led to the stately city of Ulpia Trajana rising on the ruins of the capital of Decebalus, the last Transylvanian king. For a century and a half the "land beyond the woods" became to the Romans, what Mexico afterwards was to Spain. Much of the gold that glittered on the tables of the wealthy patricians, or adorned the reigning beauties at the gladiatorial shows, was dug from the hills of Abrudbanya, or washed from the sands of the Aranyos and other streams. During the culminating epoch of Roman luxury Transylvania was regarded as a vast treasure-house to be ransacked for wealth, and not only its mineral stores, but its rich harvests were easily

transmuted into gold. But as the great stream of barbarian life flowed from the north and east, the Roman dominion beyond the Danube, after being rudely shaken by the Gothic hordes, was, a century later uprooted by a mightier hand. Attila, the "Scourge of God," sweeping westward from Scythia, drove the feebler inhabitants before him, and seized possession of Transylvania and the neighbouring lands. But this meteor-like career of conquest was checked by the terrific battle which turned the plain of Chalons into one great charnel-house, and all that remained of his evanescent power speedily vanished after his sudden and mysterious death. But though Attila had neither predecessor nor successor, and though his work was mainly destructive, his invasion led to at least one remarkable result. It brought about the settlement in eastern Transylvania of those Szekler freemen, who still constitute an important element in the social and political forces at work in Eastern Europe. The exact manner in which this occurred cannot now be definitely ascertained. In all probability a fragment of Attila's host, instead of returning to Asia after his death, found its way up the Valley of the Maros, and settled in the elevated and broken country, towards what is now the Roumanian border. There they have remained ever since, holding their own against all comers, and until recently voluntarily guarding the frontier passes, and fighting under their own officers in the national army. At the present time they number scarcely 400,000 souls, but quality atones for lack of quantity, where a people bears the genuine stamp of nature's nobility. And doubtless their numbers would long ere now have been greatly augmented, had the battle-fields on which they have rendered heroic service been fewer, and less thickly strewn with dead.

When the Magyars over-ran Hungary in the ninth century, they fraternised with their Szekler kinsmen amongst the Transylvanian hills, but though closely allied by ties of race and language, the two peoples have never

been quite merged in one nationality. In what stage of development the Szeklers then were, it is impossible to say, but it is clear that the early exploits of their Magyar brethren were not of a kind to qualify them for canonisation. Sweeping like a tornado over Northern Italy and Illyria, they left behind such a terror of their arms that for ages afterwards the pathetic prayer rang dolefully through the aisles of the churches—"O deliver us, thine unworthy servants, we beseech thee, from the arrows of the Hungarians."

Nunc te rogamus, licet servi pessimi,
Ab Ungerorum, nos defendas jaculis.

They even poured across the Meuse into the very heart of Flanders, and had it not been for Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great, the Magyar tongue might have been spoken to-day in the Rhineland instead of along the Danube. The severity of the struggle is apparent from the amazing arsenal of sacred weapons which Otho carried on his person at the battle of the Lech. He had the sword of Constantine, the spear of Charlemagne, a holy lance, pointed with the nails of the true cross, and the banner of St. Maurice. By the help of these, or by a happy accident, the Magyars received such a summary chastisement as led them to shake off their vagrant propensities, and to embrace Christianity, and settle down to civilised life. For five hundred years afterwards Hungary and Transylvania were united, and had in most respects the same customs and laws. The principality thus shared in the beneficent legislation of Stephen and Bela, and if its inhabitants had been more homogeneous, and spoken the same language, it would have become a powerful bulwark of Latin Christianity towards the east. But the Transylvanian Magyars and Szeklers were numerically weak, and while these had embraced Catholicism, the mixed multitude of Wallacks, and the other motley representatives of the builders of Babel went over, out of spite, to the Eastern Church, and persisted in speaking a *lingua franca* of their own. Moreover, these "fragments of

forgotten peoples" were too savage or slothful to cultivate the earthly paradise around them. Hence occurred that singular and almost solitary case of eastward emigration, the settlement of the German colonies, chiefly from the lower Rhine, in the south-eastern districts of Transylvania. By the end of the twelfth century, vast tracks of tangled forest had been changed by the patient industry of these so-called "Saxon" settlers into corn fields and vineyards, and seven cities were built and fortified, which became centres of profitable trade with the east, and places of refuge against the Mongolian hordes which scourged the country in the closing reigns of the dynasty of Arpad. The knights of the Teutonic Order were also invited by Andrew II, in 1211, to settle in the Burzenland, and these semi-ecclesiastical warriors, whose favourite recreation was to Christianize unfortunate Pagans at the point of the sword, found a happy hunting ground among the nondescript populations along the Dniester and the Pruth. But having broken their compact with the Hungarian crown, they had to betake themselves, after a residence of fifteen years, to the Baltic provinces, and their white mantles and black crosses were no longer seen on the Transylvanian highways.

The Hungarian State had thus been cradled in the camp, and nursed amid the turmoil of war. But the saintly genius of Stephen had checked the vehement passions of a warrior race, and sown the seeds of a lofty Christian enthusiasm. And though the youngest of the new European family of nations, Hungary bade fair to outstrip her older rivals in the arts of peace as well as in martial renown. The grand and progressive reigns of Charles Robert and Louis the Great developed her free institutions, extended her territory, and raised her to high rank as a military and naval power. The fortress-palace of Visegrad also became, under these two monarchs, the most magnificent royal residence in Europe. Its 350 apartments were luxuriously furnished,

its gardens stocked with the rarest flowers, while its lavish festivities astonished even the pomp-loving magnates and tributary princes who came to do homage to the kings of the Anjou line. But in the far south-east a cloud was gathering which soon darkened the whole horizon of Hungary. That Turkish power, which has so long blighted the civilization of the historical lands of antiquity, crept with stealthy step towards Belgrade, and only the splendid military genius of Hunyadi, one of the noblest heroes, and perhaps the greatest general of all mediæval times, availed to ward off the evil day. Even this was done at terrible cost, and it seemed after each Turkish defeat as if myriads of turbaned swordsmen sprang up round the horse-tail standards to take the places of the slain. Before Hunyadi's death, Constantinople had fallen, and the haughty message had come to King Ladislaus, "Make choice between war and peace, for as there is but one God in the heavens so also the earth must henceforth have but one ruler." Hungary was, however, too powerful to fall an easy or speedy prey to Moslem aggression. For thirty-two years under Mathias Corvinus, the land enjoyed external security, and long intervals of peace. But the national wealth, instead of being husbanded for the coming crisis, was often squandered in fruitless enterprises and lavish display. During his reign (1457-89) Buda-Pesth became the chief centre of Hungarian national life. Some of the earlier kings had resided in the historic isle of Csepel, where Arpad lies buried, while Stephen and Geysa preferred the archiepiscopal city of Gran, and others favoured Visegrad, Wesprim, and Alba Regia. Corvinus set his heart on raising such a palace on the lofty plateau of Buda, as would eclipse even the gorgeous splendours of the new Ottoman court in Constantinople. Utilising the work already done by Bela II. and Sigismond, he employed some of the most famous architects and artists to design and decorate the vast pile which rose on this magnificent

site. The great halls were frescoed from ceiling to floor, and the long corridors lined with statues, modelled after the antique. Fifty carriages could hardly convey the royal plate, which was all of massive gold, and sparkling with precious stones. But the king was less intent on multiplying his material wealth than on building up the great palace library which became perhaps the richest literary collection of the time. He also munificently aided the University of Buda, founded a great lyceum in Pesth, procured the first printing-press erected in Hungary, and made the twin cities that spread below his palace a converging point for the genius and learning of the age.

But all this was but the afterglow that preceded the coming night. Corvinus was often haunted by the fear that he was destined to be the last great king of Hungary, and that the star of her glory would set with his life. This sorrowful foreboding was only too well founded, and its presence in his mind is a striking proof of his keen political insight. The dazzling pageantry of the royal court in Buda had prevented less watchful spirits from perceiving the hand-writing on the wall. An overtaxed and discontented people, a jealous and turbulent nobility, and a haughty and intolerant hierarchy were frail and ill-assorted elements for national defence against such a foe as Solyman the Magnificent. The collapse seemed slow to come, but at last in 1521, Belgrade, the key of Hungary, was taken, and five years later, the Sultan had mustered 200,000 men in the plains of Mohacs, between the Danube and the Drave. When too late, a levy *en masse* was ordered, and bloody swords were carried through the kingdom, in accordance with ancient custom, but barely thirty thousand effective troops rallied round King Louis, and with those he rashly offered battle. The only chance of success, with a disparity of seven to one, must have lain in striking suddenly and fiercely at one of the wings, as Frederick the Great did at Leuthen. But the Hungarians wasted their impetuous valour in reckless attempts

to storm the Turkish batteries, and were mown down by Solyman's three hundred pieces of artillery. After the smoke had lifted, the Turks trimmed their ranks, and prepared for the next onset, but to their surprise the Hungarian army had disappeared. It had, in fact been annihilated, in the military sense of the term. Three-fourths of the whole army lay dead upon the plain, amongst them seven bishops, twenty-eight magnates, and the flower of the lesser nobility. The King himself, bruised by the fall of his horse, perished in a neighbouring brook or marsh. Following up his success, the Sultan captured Buda, and planted the Crescent on the palace of Corvinus. The bronze statues with which it was adorned were ordered to be cast into cannon, and the matchless library was wantonly destroyed, or perhaps utilised for lighting the cooking fires of the janizzaries. One shipload of the books was sent to Constantinople as a trophy, and about three years ago a few of these were actually found in the sacred chamber where the beard and other relics of Mahomet are preserved. To the great delight of the Hungarian people, these were sent back to Buda-Pesth, in a gorgeous casket, as a proof of Turkish gratitude for Magyar friendship and sympathy.

The battle of Mohacs was the turning point of modern Hungarian history. That disaster led to the long and painful effort of the Magyar race to prevent its free development being stifled by the despotic and denationalising policy of the Hapsburg sovereigns, who fell heir to the empty throne of St. Stephen. The presence of the Turks who held sway in Buda for nearly a century and a half, was also like a sword in her heart; and the rich dependency of Transylvania was severed from Hungary for the same period. On this account the greater part of the sixteenth century, which was for England a time of rejuvenescence, was for Hungary a period of calamity and gloom. The long struggle between Ferdinand of Austria, and John Zapolyai, the rival

claimants for the crown, resulted in the sceptre falling into the grasp of an ungenerous and despotic dynasty, while the continued ravages of the Turks wasted her provinces, and broke her national spirit. It is with a sense of relief that one turns away from the mournful story of her wrongs to watch the rise of the fresh religious life that sprang up within her borders "like a root out of a dry ground." The sorely burdened people of Hungary had long pined for social and spiritual liberty, and when the Reformed doctrines spread over the land they were welcomed by multitudes as a message from heaven. The villagers listened with avidity as the students returning from the German universities explained the new beliefs, and even the soldiers engaged against the Turks sang Luther's hymns and psalms by the bivouac fires. At one time Catholicism seemed almost doomed to extinction on Hungarian soil. But from the time of the bigoted and fickle Rudolph, who was crowned in 1572, down to about a century ago, no pains were spared by the Hapsburgs and their Jesuit allies, to restore the ascendancy of the Papacy, and to stamp out the spirit of religious freedom in Hungary. It is needless to follow the dreary and monotonous record of their perfidy, persecution, and contempt of divine and human law. It is enough to say that for two centuries nearly every Hapsburg sovereign inscribed his name in letters of blood on the page of Hungarian history, and even Maria Theresa, whose throne was saved by the generous fidelity of her Magyar subjects, carried on the conversion of Protestants by the help of dragoons, *ad majorem Mariæ gloriam*.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH OF FRANCIS DAVID.

WHILE Hungary was thus handed over to a protracted contest between the spirit of liberty and of arbitrary power, Transylvania became the theatre of a struggle which is unique in modern ecclesiastical history. In that

remote land, embosomed within the Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps, the work of the Reformation narrowly escaped being carried out to its logical completion. In all probability, had it not been for the early death of John Sigismund, the son of Zapolyai, whom "the three allied nations" of the principality elected as their ruler, the Protestantism of Transylvania would have freely and naturally developed into a Unitarian form, and anticipated by three centuries, the wide-spread religious liberalism of to-day. In this instance the liberal faith experienced its usual fate of being tracked through Christendom by a persistent ill-luck. As the monotheistic Christian church of Palestine sank out of sight in the turmoil of the Jewish dispersion, as Arianism fell with Theodoric at Chalons, as the heretical Waldensians were periodically decimated in their secluded valleys, so the liberal Christianity which sprang up in the sixteenth century with such fair promise in Poland and Transylvania, was blighted by the odious cruelty and bitter fanaticism of supposed defenders of pure religion. Little is now left to Poland of the three hundred organised Unitarian congregations, which would have been the best bulwarks of her freedom, save the graveyards where her persecuted children lie at rest, and here and there a half-effaced inscription which the stolid custodian can hardly read to the inquiring pilgrim. In Transylvania there is still life and even sanguine hope, but her free Church bears the impress of having "come out of great tribulation." The story of its rise is too well known to need full repetition. The influence of Blandrata the Italian physician (who accompanied the Polish princess Isabella to Transylvania in 1563) in promoting the movement, has generally been over estimated. He, doubtless, aided in the conversion of the Prince and court, but the readiness with which almost the whole Hungarian population accepted the freer teaching of Francis David, shows that the principles of the Reformation had worked in their hearts as a silently progressive power. Francis David

was in fact the real apostle of Unitarianism in Transylvania, and though his country has been slow to enrol him amongst her saints and prophets, there are few of which she has greater reason to be proud. Born of comparatively humble parents in Klausenburg in 1510, he completed his academical education at Wittenberg, and thus had the privilege of coming face to face with the Reformation leaders at the centre of the movement. From 1540 we find him contributing his full share of energy and thought to the consolidation of the Reformed churches in Transylvania, but often troubled in spirit over the division between the followers of Luther and Zwingli, which had resulted from the unhappy disputation on the Sacrament between the two leaders at Marburg. Up to 1557 he seems to have held the Lutheran tenets, and then to have accepted the Zwinglian and Calvinistic system, but only to find them at last unscriptural and unsatisfying. In 1564 he was elected bishop of the Calvinists and Court chaplain to Prince John Sigismund, but soon after, in conjunction with Blandrata, he cast the whole weight of his influence in favour of the Unitarian movement, and about 1568 was chosen bishop of the new religious community. In the same year, the Edict of religious liberty was passed at the Diet of Torda, and the Unitarian faith, or as it was called the "Klausenburg Confession," spread rapidly amongst the Hungarian and Szekler population of the principality. In spite of the check it received through the death of Prince John in 1571, and the election of a Catholic prince, no fewer than 322 Unitarian clergymen were present at the Synod of Torda in 1578, a fact which points to the existence of about 400 congregations in Transylvania at that early date. The movement had also spread into Hungary proper, no fewer than thirty-seven congregations having been formed in the southern provinces, several of which maintained their existence far on into the seventeenth century. Here and there, in the records of these churches, we find ample

proof of the existence of a broad-Christian tolerance which puts to shame the bigotry of our own time. For example, the Unitarian Pastor Dudith, of Fünfkirchen, sends this noble expostulation to Beza, in reference to the persecution of Protestants of advanced views. "You try to justify the banishment of Oehm and the execution of others, and you seem to wish Poland to follow your example. God forbid. When you talk of your Augsburg Confession, and your Helvetic creed, and your unanimity, and your fundamental truths, I keep thinking of the sixth commandment: thou shall not kill." This spirit of genuine Christian charity, was unhappily absent from the heart of the cold and avaricious Blandrata, and either through envy or fanaticism he urged a charge of innovation against Francis David, whose views of Christ's nature had been gradually approaching the humanitarian standpoint. Whatever his motives may have been, the blow he aimed at the aged bishop fell with crushing severity. In June, 1579, the venerable reformer was brought before Christopher Bathory, and sentenced to be imprisoned at the Prince's pleasure in the fortress of Deva, and there some five months later, he died, apparently from the hardships of his imprisonment, and the mental pain inflicted by his heartless or bigoted persecutors. In John Sigismund the Unitarian church had been deprived of its protector and munificent patron, and in Francis David it lost its apostle and prophet. Other troubles speedily followed, the last and worst of which was the defeat and death of the second and last Unitarian prince, with the flower of the chivalry of Transylvania, in the Vale of Alabor, near Kronstadt. This calamity, which cast nearly all the noble families of Transylvania into mourning, is still commemorated by the touching inscription,—

Quos genuit cives, hic Transilvania claudit
Heu ! parvo tumulto quanta ruina jacet.

The persecutions and the political chaos of this age of terror separated the Unitarianism of Transylvania and Hungary, and while the former maintained a precarious

existence, the latter dwindled away and perished. The most severe and unjustifiable forms of repression were resorted to after the principality had, in 1691, been reunited to Hungary under the Hapsburg rule. All that the perverse ingenuity of the Jesuits, and the brutal violence of the military authorities could accomplish towards its destruction was done without stint or scruple. So far was persecution carried, that the planting of a cross on a Unitarian church by the Catholics was considered enough to give them a right of possession, even though there were only a few adherents of that faith within the district. In some cases, as at Bágyon and St. Gerlitze, the Catholic mob attempted to seize the buildings by a *coup de main* during the temporary absence of the men of the congregation; but the Szekler women turned out and victoriously defended their village sanctuaries, the younger fighting desperately in the church enclosure, while the old prayed for their success within. In other instances, as at Klausenburg and Torda, the ejection of the Unitarians was accompanied by at least a semblance of legal formalities, or a formidable military demonstration. But so shamefully were the rights of conscience, and even of citizenship outraged, that men sighed for the days of Turkish supremacy, when Christian liberty was far more secure. Towards the close of the last century the storm of persecution began to abate, as if in remorse at its own violence. Then it was found that the liberal church had gained a moral victory, for though "cast down, it was not destroyed." Many of its congregations had been disorganised or scattered, and not a few had disappeared in the desolating wars of the time. But it had found so sure a defence in the free instincts and firm allegiance of the Szekler peasantry as to defy the bigotry of its enemies, and the treachery of time-serving men in high places. Indeed, so closely had it become allied with the sacred sentiments of independence and patriotism, which are as the breath of life to this noble race, that thenceforth its

prayers and hymns, and the people's songs of liberty, seemed blended together into one strain of aspiration for the welfare of their country, and the triumph of their faith.

For more than eighty years the Transylvanian church has been slowly but surely restoring its broken fortunes, consolidating its admirable organisation, and extending its influence in the Monarchy. Through the unwearied efforts of such standard-bearers as Bishop Szentábrahádi, who earned the name of "the eye, the heart, and the tongue of the Unitarians," and by the munificence of Zsuki, Augustinovics, and others, advantage could be taken of restored tolerance and peace to raise it from its depressed and destitute condition. The frail wooden buildings, in which the ejected congregations had met in the evil days of the persecution, have since been replaced by churches of more solid material, the three Gymnasias have been reorganised and endowed, new schools and parsonages have been built, and funds established for various ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes. The "Golden Book" in which the later donations to the Church have been inscribed, bears testimony to a spirit of liberality and self-sacrifice which is beyond all praise. And it is almost as gratifying to note how carefully these gifts, often bestowed by poor people out of their narrow means, are husbanded and applied. The Transylvanian Church has never served itself, nor worked for the interests of a clerical caste. With enlarged opportunities its leaders have always aimed at the free development and wider spread of religious truth and life within and without her bounds. And this is the main reason why they now so earnestly desire that the influences of Unitarianism should no longer be confined to the mountain-land where it was so faithfully guarded in perilous days, but that it should become a source of vital inspiration at the centre of Hungarian national life.

It was my good fortune to receive a warm invitation from Bishop Ferencz, and the Ecclesiastical Council, to

attend the ter-centenary commemoration of Francis David, and the accompanying General Synod at Szekely Keresztúr, in August, 1879. The British and Foreign Unitarian Association also conjoined me with the Rev. Alexander Gordon in their official letter to the authorities of the Transylvanian Church. Fortified with these double credentials, and having arranged to preach and lecture in German during my visit, I left Cambridge early in August, and travelled quickly *via* Antwerp, Cassel, Eisenach, Bamberg, Nüremberg, and Ratisbon, my route thus far being mostly over familiar ground. At Passau I exchanged the rail for the steamer, and reached the Austrian capital by the magnificent water-way of the Danube. Vienna is always fascinating, and it was with no slight reluctance that I resumed my journey eastward after one long day of sight-seeing. The fine steamer in which I sailed down the Danube carried us almost too swiftly past the Napoleonic battle fields round the island of Lobau, the picturesque fortalice of Hainburg, and the castle-crowned "Gates of Theben," to Pressburg, the old Hungarian capital, whose ruined palace now dominates a congeries of monotonous and melancholy streets. Further on, we touched at Komorn, Gran, and Waitzen, besides other places less familiar to students of Hungarian history. But all were eclipsed by the splendid *coup d'œil* presented by the sister cities of Buda and Pesth, on entering the broad reach of the Danube between their quays. The capital was thronged with visitors, gathered to witness the annual procession, in which the embalmed hand of St. Stephen is carried in state from the cathedral to the palace. The following day, I witnessed this unique celebration, but the countenances and equipments of the mixed multitude around me were better worth seeing than the shrivelled relic of the royal saint. It being an inopportune time for visiting and sight-seeing, I postponed the exploration of Pesth till my return, and escaped from its crowded streets to the solitude of the

Great Plain. All night long I travelled over the vast unbroken expanse, and fortunately daylight came in time to show me the pretty town of Gross Wardein, and the delightful scenery of the Koros Valley. On reaching Klausenburg, a number of gentlemen were assembled on the station platform to welcome me. Professor Kovács, my former college companion, officiated as spokesman, and then a charmingly self-possessed young lady, of some ten years, presented me with a large bunch of beautiful flowers. Comfortable rooms were kindly placed at my disposal by the Rev. Joseph Derzsi, while at the table of my friends Mrs. Kriza and Mrs. Kovács (the widow and daughter of the late eminent Bishop), I had many most pleasurable proofs of the variety and excellence of Hungarian cuisine.

The next few days brought a perfect avalanche of visitors and invitations, and though Klausenburg had long been a city of my dreams, I had little time to study its characteristics till after my return from the Synod. On August 23rd, a large company, set out by rail for Szekely Keresztúr, which lies about a hundred miles to the south-east. Our route lay for the most part through lovely scenery, the only dreary part being the saline district about fifteen miles from Klausenburg. After getting clear of this forlorn-looking tract, and passing Thorda at some distance on the right, we entered the rich valley of the Maros, and followed its southerly course to Tövis, where the lines to Kronstadt and Karlsburg diverge. Then again, turning westwards, we passed through a magnificent country to Shässburg, one of the seven fortresses from which Transylvania receives its German name of Siebenbürgen. It is built on a lofty eminence, with high wooded hills behind, and girt with walls and towers of the most quaint and picturesque description. A short distance further on, we reached the station for Keresztúr, where a surprise awaited us which deserves to be described at length.

CHAPTER III.

A HUNGARIAN WELCOME.

WHEN the history of Héjasfalva is written, the Unitarian invasion will, no doubt, have a chapter all to itself. The station-master beheld, in a half bewildered way, his usually quiet platform crowded from end to end, and a large open space outside entirely filled with carriages, farmers' conveyances, and Szekler hussars. Warm greetings were being exchanged on every side, for the contingent from Klausenburg and Thorda found their relatives and friends were here in full force to receive them. The procession was admirably arranged, the credit of this, I believe, being chiefly due to Mr. Jakabházi of Siménfalva. At its head were about forty Szeklers, in hussar uniform, evidently picked men, and splendidly mounted. Most of the carriages were drawn by four horses, and were given for the occasion by the neighbouring gentry, irrespective of religious belief. The first was, of course, occupied by the Bishop and the Lord-Lieutenant, Gabriel Daniel, who was to be President of the Synod. The second was designed for the English delegates, but owing to Mr. Gordon's absence, was shared by my friend, Prof. Kovács, the Principal of the Klausenburg College, and myself. The third was allotted to the Lord Lieutenant of an adjoining district, and Mr. Buzogany, a Government official from Buda Pesth. Mr. Gordon and I had not yet met in Hungary, having come by different routes, and at different times. He had been deciphering the epitaphs of Unitarian saints and martyrs in Breslau and Cracow, while I had been visiting the mediæval towns along the Upper Danube. I had now the pleasant prospect of meeting him in Keresztúr, but was sorry he had not come out to the station to occupy the vacant seat in the sumptuous carriage set apart for the English visitors. As for the American representative, it appears that Switzerland proved his Capua, so that the Unitarianism of the world outside

Hungary was perforce represented in this formidable procession by one unworthy visitor from the banks of the Cam. Beside the church of Uj-Székely, the first village of the Szeklerland, a fine triumphal arch of three spans had been erected, and here the Unitarian minister, the "elders of the people," and a large crowd had gathered to receive us. The occupants of the first carriages having alighted, the minister welcomed us in a gracefully-delivered speech of some ten or fifteen minutes, during which time I surreptitiously scanned the bronzed faces of the wondering and delighted multitude around me. And I must say, with all due respect for the memory of a distinguished Irish orator, that not in the Emerald Isle, but in the Szeklerland is to be found "the finest peasantry on earth." I was surprised to see so many tall, handsome men, with such intelligent and manly faces, and so many women with kind and pleasant expression, though in some cases prematurely aged with hard work on the hill-sides. A group of pretty Szekler girls had dressed themselves in gala costume, with natural flowers in their hair, and formed a striking feature in the foreground of the scene. As time was precious, the Bishop responded for all and sundry, and then the minister's wife presented the chief guests with wreaths, tastefully made with evergreens and flowers, and bound in Hungarian fashion with blue and scarlet ribbons. These classic gifts were not, of course, placed, in antique fashion, on our heads, but were handed to us in a sensible nineteenth-century way, to be kept as *souvenirs* of the occasion. I heartily wished that Tracy Turnerelli had been there, to see how nicely they manage these things in Transylvania. Indeed, the little incident might perhaps have afforded him material to feather another arrow against the illustrious ingrate of Downing-street; or, at all events, it would have gladdened his disconsolate heart by showing him that there is at least one country under the sun where a wreath is not considered an anachronism, and where there is no risk of its being scorn-

fully refused. As for that which fell to my share, though most scrupulously cared for, it has suffered considerably in transit, and is now suggestive of the worn face of some old, familiar friend. But the fact that, like its owner, it has seen better days, entitles it all the more to a place of honour in my sanctum; and there, while it holds together, it will remain, to recall pleasant memories and be a source of stimulus and inspiration.

The procession having again started, we drove on to Szekely Keresztúr along a road lined nearly all the way with peasants from the neighbouring villages. And at last as the twilight deepened, we drew up in the broad central street of the town in front of another arch, somewhat loftier and more elaborate than the first. Lights placed in the house windows, and flaring torches added to the picturesqueness of the scene. I wondered what was to happen next, and felt a little disposed, like Wellington at Waterloo, "to pray for night or Gordon." In this perplexity I saw, to my great relief, a white tie glimmer like an oriflamme through the gloom, and hastening to the spot, I found my colleague looking as if his uppermost thought was, "After this the deluge." Our greetings were hearty, but brief as those exchanged between Wellington and Blücher, or between Stanley and Livingstone, for business had to be attended to. The Bishop having been welcomed with all due ceremony, Mr. Benczédi addressed the English delegates in their native tongue, not only assuring them of a hearty reception, but kindly saying that their presence at the Synod would be a special pleasure to all concerned. Then Mr. Gordon responded to this welcome in English, with what he has styled "a Magyar tag at the end," while chiefly for the benefit of the professors and ministers around, I made a short speech in German expressing our grateful appreciation of the honour and kindness shown to us, and our pleasure at being present on an occasion of such historical importance. I was then conducted through the

crowded streets of the little town to the house of Professor Gombos, of the Keresztúr gymnasium, where a large comfortable room was placed at my disposal, and here I received the utmost kindness and attention from my host and his excellent wife during my stay in Keresztúr.

On the same evening, soon after the arrival of the procession, we were summoned to an inaugural festive gathering, which was held in a long wooden building erected for the occasion in the recreation-ground of the Gymnasium. The supper consisted of some eight or nine courses, almost all of a very substantial kind, beginning, if I remember rightly, with soup, and ending with roast fowls. Good wine, of a refreshing though harmless nature, was drunk in abundance, mixed with the sparkling mineral water of the country. One of the first toasts was the health of the English delegates, which was eloquently proposed by the President of the Synod, Gabriel Daniel. Soon after, Mr. Gordon rose to return the compliment, and I cannot do better than relate the incident in his own words: "As soon as I began with '*Tisztelt Társaság*' (honoured assemblage), the applause showed that my humble attempt was well received. I went on to say, 'Little can I speak in Hungarian, therefore must I say much in that little. God bless the Unitarian churches in Hungary, in England, in America, and in all the world for ever and ever.' Here the applause became vociferous. Though I had intended to add a few sentences more, I felt that this was enough, and prudently sat down."

My Colleague's enthusiastic reception relieved me of any necessity for speech-making, and left me to study my surroundings; and certainly the scene was worth going far to see. A glance along the crowded tables showed that the Transylvanian Church had mobilised her best forces for the Ter-centenary of her great Reformer. Almost all classes of society were represented, but the majority of the company consisted of Szekler squires and stalwart farmers from the rural districts,

with ministers and teachers in the service of the Church. Nearly all had a healthy, hearty aspect, while here and there towered a veritable son of Anak. One gigantic Szekler reminded me of Paul Kinisi, the chief of Mathias Corvinus' mighty men. The feats performed by this warrior used to dazzle my boyish imagination, especially his amiable eccentricities after the battle of Kenyermezö. On this occasion, after fighting furiously, and sending the Turks in troops to Paradise, he was seen, when the enemy had fled, gracefully performing the national dance on the battle-field, with one dead Turk in his teeth and one under each arm. Through the influence of an evil spirit of scepticism, I more recently came to take this story with a grain of salt; but after having seen what splendid specimens of humanity the Szeklerland can produce, I have dismissed all doubts of Kinisi's achievements, and returned to the implicit faith of my earlier years. The piles of meat of every description, which vanished as if by magic, made me wonder how these muscular Christians would have relished our ordinary English tea meeting fare. The toasts, of which at least twenty were proposed, had not been at all pre-arranged. During the supper and after it, a gentleman here and there stood up and spoke as the spirit moved him. Not a single speaker ever seemed to be embarrassed or at fault for a word or an idea. The sentences flowed in one continuous stream, and the action was almost always natural and graceful. The meeting broke up about half-past ten o'clock, and under the dainty silk coverlet which Mrs. Gombos had provided for her English guest, I dreamt strange dreams of being in quest of the Holy Grail, and finding it, after many wanderings, within the walls of Shässburg.

On the following morning the Bishop, Mr. Gordon and I were waited upon in turn at our lodgings by a numerous deputation of Szekler ministers and laymen, who again welcomed us in the warmest terms. One of the Unitarian Archdeacons acted as spokesman, while Mr. Boros ably

performed the part of interpreter. I responded in a ten minute speech in German, uttered out of the abundance of the heart. It gave me the utmost pleasure, I said, to find myself in the ancestral home of a generous, brave, and liberty-loving race, and it delighted me to see that the land and its people were worthy of each other. It needed but a hasty glimpse of the fair valley of the Küküllö, and the swelling hills around to show that the Szekler country was fit to be the cradle of a noble manhood. The achievements of their forefathers were such as had few parallels in ancient or modern history. Not only had they contended for centuries with unfaltering courage and constancy for their rights and their freedom, but they had rendered a signal service to the civilised world. For two centuries, while the armies of Islam had threatened to over-run western Europe, the Hungarian nation had stood as the forlorn hope of Christendom. And wherever the strife was fiercest, and the seemingly resistless tide of invasion had to be stemmed the Szeklers were sure to be in the van. It had seemed fit to divine Providence not only to lay upon them the defence of their country and of Europe, but to add to this another weighty and solemn trust. They had, for three centuries, been the guardians of a glorious faith, which had been constantly exposed to open assault, or secret insidious attack. And the same heroism, self-sacrifice, and fidelity which they had displayed on many a well-fought field had shone out in their gallant struggle for the maintenance of their persecuted church. Better days had come for Hungary and for the cause of free religion, but there was still work to do which was worthy of their energy and devotion. And in no better way could the ancestral virtues of the race be sustained and strengthened, than by enthusiastic adherence to a church which had been their palladium in times of strife and violence, and was now their crown of rejoicing in days of prosperity and comfort.

It may be supposed that, after these ovations, Mr.

Gordon and I felt ourselves at home in Keresztúr, and, figuratively speaking, invested with the freedom of the city. Naturally, we felt somewhat uneasy at being loaded with laurels before we deserved them, but it was gratifying to find such respect paid us as representatives of England and the Unitarian faith. Our reception also gave us a slight, but interesting experience of how it must feel to play the part of a prince, or a popular statesman, or any similar maker of history, and happily our democratic sympathies were a sufficient safeguard against any loss of equanimity or tendency to vainglory or pride. Apart from the warmth of our welcome, and the beautiful scenery around, Keresztúr had not much to offer us in the way of urban attractions. Its broad central street has some good houses and shops, but beyond this the town consists chiefly of peasants' cottages and farm yards, its population numbering about four thousand souls. The Unitarian church and gymnasium are pleasantly situated a little to the south, between the town and the plantations skirting the banks of the river.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TERCENTENARY CELEBRATION.

THE Synod was formally constituted at nine o'clock in the hall of the Gymnasium. An opening address, stating the object of the assembly was read by Gabriel Daniel who sat on the right hand of the Bishop at the head of a long table. Seats were placed on each side for the English representatives, while further down were the *Notarius* and other officials. After the address prayer was offered, and then the new delegates took the oath of allegiance to the church according to the Unitarian custom, with uplifted thumb. Then the Bishop introduced Mr. Gordon and me to the assembly, his speech being interpreted by Professor Kovács, of Klausenburg.

At Mr. Gordon's suggestion, I replied to this address in German, assuring the Bishop and the members of the Synod of the warm interest of the English Unitarians in the welfare and work of their Hungarian brethren. Though divided by distance, nationality, and language, we had the same great mission and the same sacred aims. Christianity in its primitive purity had broken down the barriers of race and speech, and it was powerful still to promote fraternity, peace, and good-will on earth. Our cause was one which concerned not Hungary and England only, but humanity at large. Our enthusiasm should mingle with that wave of divine inspiration which is now moving the nations to struggle up towards a worthier existence. The occasion on which they had assembled was one of solemn and absorbing interest. It promised to be the dividing line between a long period of defensive warfare and an era of progress and peace. The Reformer whose life and death they had met to commemorate was worthy of a high place in the Christian calendar of the future. He had borne the weal and woe of a struggling cause through good and bad report, and had been faithful unto death. The rich inheritance of his example, his labours and his prayers, had descended to them whose lot was cast in better times; and all would join in the earnest hope that not only the memory of Francis David's life, but the living influence of his spirit, would consecrate their fellowship and stimulate their efforts for the welfare of their church.

Mr. Gordon then presented addresses from the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, the Irish Non-Subscribing Association, and the Ulster Unitarian Christian Association. He introduced the first of these, which was in English, by a few remarks in Hungarian, and the others, which were in Latin, by one or two appropriate sentences in that language. A Hungarian translation of the address of the British and Foreign Association was read by Dr. Gyerggai, amidst frequent applause. In addition to the Irish addresses presented by Mr. Gordon, a letter and

resolution were read by Mr. Boros from the Free Congregational Union in Ireland.

A resolution was moved in Latin by Mr. John Hajos, a Government official, to the effect that these addresses be recorded on the minutes of the Synod, and that suitable replies be forwarded to the senders. I was also asked for a full copy of my speech for insertion in the records. Only one other incident of the forenoon's proceedings need be mentioned, namely the presentation of a Bible, richly bound in velvet and silver, to the church at Keresztúr, by Mr. John Zsako, postmaster of Thorda.

After this first sitting of the Synod came the Francis David commemoration service in the adjoining church. Before the bell had begun to ring a crowd had collected large enough to fill the building three times over, although a new wing had lately been added to it. I suggested that the service should be held in the church enclosure, where a spreading tree would have sheltered the preacher from the sun, or that a second congregation should be formed under the tree, and a third in the College Hall. There would have been no difficulty in finding preachers who could trust to the inspiration of the moment. Instead of this it was arranged to hold a second service about two hours later, but by that time the crowd had mostly dispersed, happily not before having the privilege of listening to a stirring open air address from the Bishop. The church was naturally crowded in every part, but Mr. Gordon and I found that comfortable seats had been reserved for us in the front pew next to the large open space round the communion table. And it ought to be mentioned as an illustration of the extreme attention and courtesy shown to the English delegates, even during this stir and excitement, that the people who had found standing room in the space before us contentedly wedged themselves into a compact mass on each side, so as to leave a lane through which we could have an uninterrupted view of the pulpit. It would be difficult to record

a similar instance of politeness and consideration for strangers within our own borders. This was my first sight of the interior of a Unitarian church in the Szeklerland, and I afterwards noticed that most of these are built after one model. They are usually rectangular in form, about 80 feet long by 35 broad, with a bell tower and spire at one end. It might be expected, that with such proportions, the principal entrance would be under the tower, while the pulpit would be at the opposite extremity, but this is seldom the case. The pulpit is placed midway along one of the side walls, so that the minister has the bulk of his congregation on each side instead of directly before him. On his right hand are the pews for the women, while the men sit like Her Majesty's Opposition, on his left. There is usually a gallery at each end, that on the men's side being for the organ and choir. The two sexes thus face each other, but are separated by the large open space, generally about 20 feet square, in which the communion table stands. As this space does not usually occupy the whole breadth of the building, there are commonly a few pews between it and the front wall, of course at right angles to the others, and here the curator and committee of the church, with other persons of consequence, are wont to sit. Sometimes a seat of honour is in this quarter specially set apart for the oldest inhabitant. The Keresztúr church answers to the above description, only that part of the front wall, opposite the pulpit, has been taken down, and a kind of transept added with pews underneath, and a third gallery above. The order of service is extremely simple, and corresponds in most respects to that of the German Protestant churches. There being generally no vestry, the minister dons his long black cloak in the parsonage, and on entering the church takes his place in a canopied seat near the pulpit stair. The choir and congregation then sing a hymn, which is not announced, and at its close the minister enters the pulpit and reads a prayer, either selected or of

his own composition. Ordinarily the sermon immediately follows, but at times another hymn or chant is introduced. The sermon is either written out beforehand and committed to memory or else given extempore, and as a rule it is more vigorously and impressively delivered than in our English churches. The Lord's Prayer and a short collect or concluding prayer are then offered, and the people slowly disperse.

The Francis David memorial service was very impressive, only it must be added that the oratory was superior to the music. One hymn written for the occasion by Louis Nagy was, however, well sung to the tune of Luther's Hymn, "A mighty fortress is our God." The Rev. Denis Peterfi, a former student of Manchester New College, and now one of the ministers of the Klausenburg church, held the enviable position of preacher of the day. The text was from John xiii., 15—"I have given you an example." His sermon was listened to with rapt attention, and received high praise on every hand. One could see that Mr. Peterfi has undoubtedly a special preaching gift, and has developed it with great care and marked success. Commencing with a reference to Jesus as the supreme example of self-sacrifice and charity, he passed on to speak of the Unitarian Reformer as one who had learned at the feet of Christ how to shed the blessings of a great example on succeeding ages. The lessons of Francis David's career were manifold, but it was as a teacher of the undivided unity of God, and of freedom of conscience, that he had specially influenced the destiny of their church. With prophetic zeal, he had opposed the tyranny of sheer authority, and led men from the hardened dogma to the living human Christ. Instead of an appeal to the written word, he justified the sovereignty of true Reason. He taught that, as the Eternal Reason presides over the whole universe of matter and mind, so the human reason, continually advancing in its grasp of the divine element, should be the ultimate arbiter of all that claims

to be revealed truth. He believed also in the fundamental accord of all divine revelations, and gladly accepted Christ's great idea of a spiritual brotherhood founded in the nature of man. Of this progressive faith Francis David was the influential apostle and example, and through proclaiming it his life was sacrificed..

After this discourse Bishop Ferencz ascended the pulpit and delivered an oration on Francis David, in which he vividly depicted the three chief elements of his character—his love of truth, his moral courage, and his strong religious fervour. The Bishop has, amongst his clergy and people, not a few eloquent and impressive speakers, but his own remarkable oratorical power enables him to stand *facile princeps* amongst them all. After the oration the communion address was delivered by the Rev. John Albert, of Thorda, whose expressive face reminded me of the portraits of Count Stephen Szechenyi, to whom Hungary owed so much about half a century ago. The reason was now made clear to me why so large an area is left unoccupied round the communion table. Instead of the communicants sitting as with us, or kneeling as in the Anglican Church, they stand in successive companies, first the men, and then the women, round the table which, during the opening address, is covered with curious coloured drapery, somewhat after the fashion of the Greek Church. Mr. Gordon and I communicated with the first company, the bread and wine being handed round by the assistant clergy, and a short prayer offered after the celebration of the rite. I then left the church and thereby lost the opportunity of witnessing an interesting baptismal ceremony, in which Mr. Gordon stood godfather, and my friend Fräulein Böske Jakabházi godmother to a remarkably precocious baby, a nephew of Baron Orban.

The dinner which followed these celebrations was the crowning festivity in connection with the synod, both as regards numbers, and the style of the entertainment. The tables were laid for about five hundred people, and

not only was every place filled, but several groups dined in pic-nic fashion in the court of the gymnasium. There was also a greater variety of dishes than on the previous evening, and a band supplied excellent music, consisting chiefly of Hungarian popular melodies. The musicians were of course gipsies, these having a kind of monopoly of public music in Hungary, but they were well dressed, and in other respects had quite a civilised appearance. A considerable number of ladies were present at this assemblage, but not nearly so large a proportion as usually attend our Crystal Palace gatherings. Many visitors were also present from other churches, amongst them being, I believe, several Reformed and Lutheran clergy, and two Catholic priests, one of them, Provost Demeter, of Udvarhely, being the chief ecclesiastic of the district. After walking arm-in-arm up and down the college court with this dignitary before dinner, discussing the Eastern Question, I wondered whether Archbishop Manning would accept an invitation to look in next Whitsuntide at Essex-street. It has been my lot, in the course of a somewhat eventful life, to be cast into contact with a considerable variety of ecclesiastical personages. I have shared the boiled beef and greens of a Highland Presbytery, and the macaroni of Italian monks, but nowhere have I found more gratifying signs of a fraternal feeling between different churches than in Transylvania. In the grand though unfortunate rising of 1848, religious distinctions were swept aside by the current of patriotic fervour, and fortunately they have not returned, at least with their former power, to be in that country as in this, a constant affliction to enlightened and liberal-minded men.

This friendly spirit unfortunately does not extend to Austria, where the Romish Church has always treated Protestantism very much as the English Established Church treats Dissent. Indeed there is a remarkable resemblance between the policy carried out by both churches. Not only has there been the same attempted

exclusion of Protestants in the one case and Dissenters in the other from the higher education and from public offices and honours, but there is a striking similarity between the way in which the two Churches have dealt with such delicate matters as that of Christian burial. Even in Vienna, where Catholicism is exposed to the bitter sarcasm of a free-thinking population, it has, like the Church of England, carried on its warfare, not only against the living, but against the dead. Perhaps my readers will pardon the digression, if I treat them, for purposes of comparison, to a specimen of an Austrian "burial scandal." Everyone who knows Vienna will remember the magnificent equestrian statue of the Archduke Charles in front of the Imperial Palace, and readers of Austrian history will be familiar with the name of the Protestant Princess—Henrietta of Nassau—whom that successful general married. This lady's singularly gifted and deeply religious nature endeared her to her brother-in-law—the Emperor Francis—and exercised a beneficial influence even over his frivolous and bigoted Court. On her death, after a short illness, just fifty years ago, there was great perplexity in the palace and intense excitement amongst the Romish clergy. She had lived and died a Protestant, and the Court chaplains were horrified at the idea of an Evangelical ceremony being held in the Palace Chapel, and the authorities of the Capuchin Monastery refused to allow a Protestant corpse to be interred in the Imperial vault below their church. In this dilemma the Archduke proposed to build a new vault at Weilburg for the Princess and himself, but the Emperor settled the matter by declaring "Where I am to rest there shall my dear sister-in-law be buried." All open obstruction on the part of the Romish clergy ceased when they found the Emperor prepared to give orders for the construction of a new Imperial *campo santo*, but every conceivable hindrance was privately cast in the way, and nothing was left undone to strip the funeral of all pomp and circumstance. It was

only by the persistence and tact of Superintendent Hausknecht, the chief Reformed clergyman in Vienna, that the arrangements were at last concluded. The coffin was placed not in the palace chapel, but in one of the lower saloons, and there, in the presence of the court and all the Protestant clergy of the city, Hausknecht conducted a short service and delivered an impressive address. This, by the way, was the first evangelical service conducted under that palace roof since the time of Maximilian II., who had a Protestant chaplain, some 300 years before; and as a law now exists forbidding members of the Hapsburg family to marry Protestants, there is little likelihood of the Court of Vienna witnessing a repetition of the scene for a considerable time to come. When the coffin was removed to the vault, Hausknecht alone, of all the Protestant clergy, was allowed to accompany it, and only on condition that the prayer usually offered at the grave should be said in silence, and that he should wear a cloak over his clerical robe. With such maimed rights were the cold remains of that loveable princess laid to rest, through priestly jealousy and lust of power. "And if these things were done in the green tree, what must have been done in the dry?"

Returning to the description of the Sunday afternoon's dinner, I must compliment our Hungarian friends on the variety and appropriateness of the toasts and speeches on the occasion. Having an excellent interpreter beside me, I followed with much interest the long line of religious, fraternal, and patriotic sentiments which formed the basis of the oratory. One stalwart Hungarian from the Great Plain garnished a racy speech with appropriate scriptural illustrations. He declared himself a recent convert to Unitarianism, and said he had made the long journey to Keresztúr for the purpose of meeting his new brethren in the faith. He had not come for the reason that the sons of Jacob went down into Egypt, in order to get food, although he had much enjoyed the banquet of which he had

just partaken. There was abundance of meat and drink on the Great Plain, but in regard to spiritual nourishment it was a dry and thirsty land; and he hoped that the fresh blossoms and fruit of the Unitarian faith would soon flourish there as they had done so long amongst the mountains of Transylvania.

In the evening a gathering of a lighter and livelier kind took place in the hall of the gymnasium. This has been described as a ball, but in consideration of its taking place on Sunday, it had better be dignified with the title of a *soirée dansante*. I had but a dim idea of what kind of assemblage this was to be, as the word *jótekonyczélu* in the programme conveyed no definite impression to my mind. Instead, therefore, of preparing properly for meeting the beauty and fashion of the Szeklerland, I walked down to the river side, and recalled the impressive scenes of the day, disturbed only by a few hares and rabbits which looked as if they wished information about the game laws of England. On returning to the gymnasium after nine o'clock, I found that a sudden transformation had taken place in my absence. The long table at which we had so gravely discussed ecclesiastical affairs had vanished, and with it the box containing the official documents, which some of us had irreverently styled "the ark of the covenant." The hall had been tastefully decorated, the gipsy band installed on a platform at one end, and a master of ceremonies held sway where the president of the synod had reigned supreme. There was a large number of ladies present, and amongst them several whose beauty, manners, and dress would have called forth favourable criticism in a Parisian or Belgravian drawing-room. The young gentlemen seemed to be scarcely numerous enough, but some of the "fathers and brethren" had come to their assistance, amongst others an arch-deacon, who evidently accepted the scriptural maxim that "there is a time to dance." The whole scene was an agreeable surprise, but as I had just lain

for an hour and a half on a heap of brushwood, I felt in my crumpled condition like the man without the wedding garment and would have gladly withdrawn. This would, however, have been unpardonable discourtesy, so I faced the ordeal of a ceremonious introduction to the group of aristocratic ladies at the head of the room. And as one of these, a young and pretty Baroness, was deeply interested in the intellectual movements of Western Europe, I considered it my duty to remain and enlighten her on the subject. This lady, like many others in Hungary, could pass, when occasion required, from one language to another as easily and gracefully as she could take part in the various dances on the list. The Bishop joined us for a short time, and as the dancers "quick and quicker flew," I congratulated him on his people having a remarkably cheerful religion. In the hyperborean region, I added, where I was born and bred, a ball on Sunday, and under the auspices of a Synod, would have ranked next to the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost. Of course the Bishop and I acted on the Oriental idea, that the dignified and proper thing to do in regard to dancing is to enjoy the spectacle and let others do the work. But in spite of this, a rumour has ever since been in circulation that one of the English delegates danced. And sundry communications have lately reached me, apparently based on this report, amongst others an invitation to a congregational ball, and one or two cards bearing the mysterious word "Quadrilles." It is quite possible that the rumour may, after all, be founded on fact, but if my colleague be the culprit, it is not for me to turn Queen's evidence. Should investigation be considered necessary or desirable the Remonstrant Synod can no doubt deal with the case without my help, and in a manner worthy of its ominous name.

CHAPTER V.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

ON the following morning the Synod went vigorously to work at an early hour, and the chief part of the business was got through during the day. As much of this was of a routine nature, it need not be described here at length. One important item was the Bishop's report, which dealt with the work and position of the Church, and the various movements which had been carried on, or inaugurated during the year. It may be mentioned that the 106 congregations are, with a view to closer supervision, divided into eight circles, over each of which a rural dean presides. Every church has a school in connection with it, taught by a properly qualified school-master, who in cases of emergency preaches for the minister. The condition of both churches and schools is from time to time reported to the Consistory, and the reports were laid before the Synod and confirmed.

The general aspect of church affairs seems favourable and hopeful, and many signs can be perceived of the widening influences of Unitarian thought. Most of the schools are well managed, and the secular and religious instruction efficiently given; but in several cases the buildings are old and inadequate, and the appliances of a primitive kind. The elder scholars are, as a rule, better versed in the history and doctrines of their faith than those of a far higher social grade amongst English Unitarians, a fact due partly to the habit of systematic religious training, and partly to the existence of a few good textbooks. The support and management of the three gymnasia at Klausenburg, Thorda, and Keresztúr occupied a large share of the attention of the Synod. As the fees in these institutions are extremely low, their maintenance is a severe tax on the resources of the Church. Part of the income is, I believe, derived from property in the neighbourhood of Hermannstadt; and lately Miss Anna

Richmond, an American lady, has kindly given the Consistory very liberal help. The money collected a few years ago by Mr. Fretwell, chiefly for the completion of the building at Keresztúr, has been most carefully and judiciously spent. And it is worth recording that, as a memorial of his praiseworthy exertions, the library of the gymnasium has been re-arranged and better housed, and a tablet with a suitable inscription placed above the entrance to the inner room, which contains the more valuable books. If the sum which he raised had been far larger it could have been turned to good account, for as nearly all the pupils lodge in the gymnasium, the accommodation must still be insufficient, at least according to English ideas. At Klausenburg the buildings are exceedingly confined, and no better outlet could be found for the generosity of our wealthy English Unitarians than assisting to add a new wing to the gymnasium in that city. The number of pupils and students entered at the beginning of the present session was: at Klausenburg, 225, with about 20 theological students; at Thorda, 169; at Keresztúr, 178. Of these only 366 are Unitarians, leaving about 200 belonging to the Reformed and other churches. From this circumstance the gymnasia not only maintain a high standard of education among the Unitarians themselves, but are centres of culture and liberalising influences for the districts in which they are situated. It appears that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries several other institutions of a similar kind were either founded by the Unitarians or had come into their possession, and their loss is deeply to be deplored.

It was interesting to notice what careful attention was given by the Synod to questions connected with the education of the ministry. This, it should be observed, is a matter of supreme importance in a country where society is so peculiarly constituted as in Transylvania. The towns being few and small, the bulk of the population is

located in villages, which are often scattered sparsely over wide tracts of partly unreclaimed and difficult country. Each little community has thus, in great measure, to fall back on its own resources for all aids to progress and enlightenment, and the power for good which in the more secluded districts a minister of high character and cultivation may exercise can hardly be overestimated. More especially if he combine a strong religious influence with the happy talent of ready and impressive speech, he may in many cases become almost the Prophet, Priest, and King of his congregation. In fact, the educational standard of the clergy has so vital a connection with the mental and moral condition of the people that a careful observer can generally tell on entering a Hungarian village to what church it belongs. A glance at the system of theological instruction carried out by the Protestant churches in Transylvania will show that this important circumstance has not been overlooked. The Germans, who number about 180,000, and are almost exclusively Lutheran, have always insisted on a high standard of culture for their pastors, and most of these, after their preliminary training, go through a course of theology at one of the German Universities. In addition to this they frequently travel a good deal before their return, so that a Lutheran parsonage is often a centre of enlightenment for the village, and the young people in being prepared for confirmation learn a good deal more from their minister than the tenets of the Augsburg Confession. This church having been generally favoured and subsidised by the Austrian Government, is of course able to offer better remuneration to those in its service than the other Protestant communions. The youths designed for the ministry of the Reformed church usually pass through their gymnasial course at one of the Calvinistic High Schools of Udvarhely and Maros Vasarhely, both of which I visited. They then pass on to the large College at Enyed, which has considerable endowments,

and provides a very complete theological curriculum. Some, before being ordained, continue their studies in Germany or Switzerland, and lately a few have been sent to Edinburgh to acquire a knowledge of English, and perhaps to imbibe the Calvinistic faith in its purity. It may be remarked that the Greek and Catholic Churches do not prove very formidable rivals to their Protestant neighbours in this matter of clerical education. Many of the Romish clergy in Hungary have, I believe, been educated at Erlau, where an attempt was made to found a splendid Catholic University by an eccentric Bishop (one of the Esterhazys) about the close of last century. Some of this dignitary's proceedings are worthy of being rescued from oblivion. Soon after his appointment he showed his contempt for the vanities of the world by destroying a beautiful summerpalace, which his predecessor had erected at great cost, nor was he content till the plough and the harrow had obliterated every trace of the exquisite landscape gardening all around its site. He then looked round for expedients to increase his income, which, from his private estates and the emoluments of his See, was already about 400,000 florins a-year. With this in view he laid such oppressive burdens on the peasants all over his domains that the Government was on the point of prosecuting him for his severity. He therefore turned his chief attention to a branch of business which proved much more lucrative. Having a monopoly of the wine trade over a large vine-growing district, he exported nearly all that was of good quality, and sold a very inferior kind at a high price for home consumption. With these ill gotten gains he enhanced the glory of Holy Mother Church in some singular ways. At the cost of about seven thousand pounds a-year he bought over a considerable number of the poorer Protestant nobility to the Catholic faith, in some cases settling the transaction by a lump sum, and in others by a liberal pension. At the same time he built a magnificent edifice for a Catholic

University, which, with its equipments, cost him about two hundred thousand pounds sterling. It was, of course, whispered by uncharitable critics that this was nothing else than a gigantic and cunning speculation. If, they said, the Bishop could get together a couple of thousand students, and also secure an increase of the resident population, he could obtain a good per centage on his outlay by supplying them with bad wine. Others hinted that he was working for the elevation of the see of Erlau to an archbishopric, which took place soon after. These implications were, to all appearances, a trifle too severe. That the Bishop had a considerable dash of honest bigotry in his nature, a good many incidents connected with this scheme fully show. For instance, in the fine painting of the Council of Trent, with which the ceiling of the library was decorated, lightning is represented as coming down from heaven to strike the heretical writings. And a still better illustration is found in connection with the fitting up of the University observatory, which is now one of the best in Hungary. He wished to have the very finest instruments, but these could only be procured in England, where they were made and sold by heretics. This circumstance cast him into grievous perplexity, and it is said he could arrive at no decision, but applied to Rome for advice. Apparently his scruples were in this way overcome, for the quadrant which he ordered cost fifteen hundred guineas, and the other instruments a proportionately large amount. The University, however, did not prosper, but dwindled down to a clerical seminary, and a place of secondary education, for science and superstition do not readily shake hands and live in peace. The above sketch, giving a glimpse of Catholicism behind the scenes, may perhaps show better than any lengthened description would do what a strange mixture of mediæval and modern ideas contend for the mastery in minds trained under its influence. And though most things have altered since the days when the citizens of Erlau drank the Bishop's sour

wine, with "curses not loud, but deep," the essence of Catholicism continues unchanged, which is largely due to the semi-monastic training of the clergy. Everywhere in Catholic seminaries it is understood that the symbol is for the people and the truth for the priesthood. And even in Transylvania, where Romanism has renounced its supercilious and persecuting spirit, there are too many signs that it clings to its old evil policy of attempting to exclude the light.

The Greek church in Transylvania, to which the Wallacks belong, is contented with a very moderate standard of ministerial attainment. The United Greeks have their chief college at Blasendorf, a beautifully-situated little town at the junction of the Great and Little Kúkullö, which I passed, but had not time to inspect. The chief clergy of this church are for the most part well educated, and attempts are being made to secure a higher class of village pastors. These United Greeks acknowledge the Pope as their supreme head, while the non-United or Oriental section retain their allegiance to the Patriarch of Constantinople. The non-United clergy, like their brethren in Russia, are for the most part guiltless of any attempt to solve the mysteries of existence by the aid of "carnal reason." If they can read the liturgy and sign a marriage certificate, they meddle no more with the wisdom of this world. Indeed, many of them have such small salaries that they must labour in the fields, or on the public works at about eightpence per day, and this is generally an advantage for themselves and their parishioners. When not compelled to work they are apt to retire from sight, under the pretence of engaging in devotional exercises, but in reality to get hopelessly drunk or to sneak about the village setting the seventh commandment at utter defiance. In justice to the Wallacks it must be said that they are beginning to feel ashamed of having such spiritual guides, and the same indulgence is not now shown to the village

pastor, or pope, as he is called, as was displayed a dozen years ago.

Many stories are extant of the exemplary patience with which the villagers used to bear the peccadilloes of their popes. One of these anecdotes, related by Mr. Boner, appears to be given on the testimony of an eye-witness. One day a stranger passing through a village saw a number of men lay hold of a person, who struggled to be free. On asking what was the matter he was told that this was the pope, and as it was Saturday, they were going to lock him up till to-morrow, so that he might be kept sober. If they did not do that he would be so tipsy in the morning as to be quite unable to conduct the service. When church was over they would let him go again. One has only to pass through some of these Wallack villages to see that the old saying "like priest like people" is true in Hungary as elsewhere.

The above sketch will convey some slight idea of the various clerical types to be met with in Transylvania; and undoubtedly our Unitarian brethren can claim to have very interesting neighbours. The cultivated German pastor, with his quiet leaning towards the liberal principles of the *Protestanten Verein*,—the Hungarian Calvinistic minister, with the native courtesy and hospitality of his race—the Catholic priest with his slightly self-conscious air of dignity, and the venerable, but not over well-washed Archimandrite of the Greek Communion are all tempting objects of study, and were it not for unduly breaking the connection of my account of the Synod would well repay a far more minute delineation.

Most of the candidates for the Unitarian ministry in Hungary pass through the lower classes of the gymnasial course either at Keresztúr or Thorda, and then remove to Klausenburg for the higher instruction, and for the subsequent three years theological training. By this liberal early education they are (to use a commercial phrase) "dyed in the wool, and not in the piece." The

Divinity course aims about midway between the requirements of Manchester New College and the Home Missionary Board, so that they ought to be well equipped for their professional duties. The Synod nevertheless passed two new regulations, one that third year students should prepare two essays connected with their studies, the other that all divinity students should give a year's attendance at the lectures on agriculture and gardening at the College of Kolozs Monostor, near Klausenburg. Many of these young men also act for a time as teachers in the gymnasia, so that when appointed as ministers, they have sufficient experience and self-reliance to enable them to hold their own amongst their rustic parishioners. The feeling of devoted allegiance to their church is carefully fostered in these candidates for the ministry. Nothing can illustrate this so well as the words of the oath taken at ordination, which I quote from Mr. Tayler's account of his visit: "I, the undersigned, swear by the living and eternal God, and in virtue of this my handwriting promise, and take God to witness, that I will, in the discharge of my ecclesiastical function, guide the flock committed to me by the Divine will, not only with wholesome doctrine, but also to the best of my power with holiness of life, and and that I will go before them in the way which leads to the eternal salvation of souls, by living soberly, righteously, and holily; that I will neglect none of these things which contribute to the benefit of the church, and that I will shrink from no labour and trouble, however it may involve the loss of my own health and fortune, and even my life, provided it promotes the growth and prosperity of that heavenly truth which is conjoined with piety; that I will yield obedience to those who are set over me by the church and by God, without hesitation, complaint, and contumacy, according to the order of ecclesiastical discipline; and that I will altogether so conduct myself, that having discharged my office with a good conscience, sincere faith, and love unfeigned, I may at length be

found worthy to hear those words of our Lord, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things.' Amen." This impressive declaration is, I understand, with very slight variation, that now in use, and it is in keeping with the whole spirit which animates the Unitarian Church in Hungary. Each minister as he enters his name in the time-worn register book feels that he takes his place in the line of an honourable succession. On commencing his pastorate he finds himself backed up by the example and the testimony of a noble history which none can gainsay or silence. He is the servant of a Church which has been a regenerating and civilising power for many generations. Knowing also that it has maintained its unity and strength through the heroic fidelity of his predecessors he follows in their steps and advances its aims with a warm and unselfish enthusiasm. This close contact with a memorable past, to which both people and preacher are linked by tradition and sympathy, helps to give to the preaching of these ministers its specially distinctive character. Their discourses seem to have always the accent of conviction, and frequently they have in them something not merely impressive, but thrilling and triumphant. The Transylvanian ministers are also in many cases more fortunate in their audiences than their English brethren. They have seldom to preach to congregations rendered unresponsive by doubt and indifference, or, on the other hand, to bring sublime truths within the grasp of inactive intelligences. They address people to whom religion is one of the first wants of the heart, and who are more easily moved by religious feeling than by lengthened argument. An effective preacher in Hungary is always sure of a warm and ready response. The Szeklers, though not possessing much acquired knowledge, have great natural intelligence and quickness of perception. It is easily seen that they listen with perfect good will, and if their attention flags for a moment, some

telling passage rivets it again, and their faces become animated with interest or emotion. They also manifest a praiseworthy desire to encourage every effort which their minister may make for securing their mental and social progress. A village pastor has therefore in many respects a very enviable position. He is not expected, as in England, to compass heaven and earth to gain proselytes, nor is he frowned upon because the long-looked-for Unitarian millenium refuses to come. He is placed amongst a true-hearted and generous people, who for long ages scarcely dared to dream of peace or security, but who have come out of that ordeal with qualities which might put more favoured communities to the blush. He has the power and opportunity to give them a right guidance, to turn their minds away from the grosser forms of material enjoyment, and to excite their admiration for great ideas and actions, and for the gifted men who have beneficially swayed the destinies of mankind.

It is fortunate that these village pastors can so freely exercise the power of enlightened Christian influence, for few of them have the power of wealth. They are nearly all the sons of Szekler farmers, a class in many respects resembling the dalesmen of the English lake district, or the old-fashioned God-fearing peasantry of Scotland. But their comparatively humble birth does not in any way impair their position, for artificial social distinctions are but slightly regarded in the Szekerland. Indeed the most influential ministers are commonly those who are in closest unison with the people, while popularity is soon sacrificed by any straining after an unreal superiority. It is, however, much to be regretted that so many of them are exposed to the anxieties inseparable from narrow means. This frequently constitutes not merely a drain on their best energies, but involves a still more serious danger. It not only cuts them off from all aids to higher culture, but insensibly weighs them down. It is no great privation for a Transylvanian minister to have to put his hand to the

plough in the literal as well as the figurative sense of the term. But when, in spite of both mental and manual labour, he can neither provide the little elegancies of life nor keep abreast of the progressive knowledge of the time, he runs the risk of sinking down to the level of the peasants around him, instead of raising them nearer to his own. Nothing is more to the credit of the Hungarian ministry than that few succumb even to this heavy and continuous pressure, and it is pleasing to state that sometimes the noblest qualities are elicited in this hard struggle for existence.

It seems almost doubtful policy to mention the average income of these estimable men, for in view of their emoluments, our own ill-paid and impecunious ministers may scarcely feel justified in uttering a word of complaint. But without entering into details, I may state that the amount paid them in money rarely exceeds £25 a-year, but in addition to this, they have a parsonage, a small glebe, and a payment in kind. It may be imagined that with such slender resources the contrast between the ideal and the reality of their profession is felt as keenly as it is by their brethren in England. This subject of ministerial remuneration has for some time occupied the earnest attention of the Council of the Church, as well as of the local committees. Three years ago a strenuous effort was made to secure better provision for aged and infirm ministers and professors, and also for widows and orphans, and the Francis David Memorial Fund, chiefly raised through the exertions of Bishop Ferencz, will partly be applied for similar purposes. This already amounts to about 11,000 florins, and it was decided by the Synod to invest the greater part of it as a capital sum, for ecclesiastical and literary objects. Amongst the subscribers to this fund are Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans, Jews, and even members of the Greek Church. But, of course, the sum realised has been mainly contributed by the Unitarians themselves, and when it is remembered that

the Szeklerland has scarcely recovered from the terrible struggles of 1848, and from the exhausting load of taxation afterwards imposed by the Austrian Government, this liberality is highly creditable to our co-religionists in the East. A munificent benefactor of the Church—Mr. Benjamin Kelemen—has also invested 5,000 florins for its benefit, and in addition to this, and several former donations, has given 500 florins, partly to Francis David's Fund and partly to the Hon. Alexis Jakab, the distinguished author of the biography of that Reformer. These facts show that the Transylvanian Unitarians have no lack of sympathy for the privations which their ministers endure, and no want of generosity when asked to make sacrifices on their behalf. And doubtless their Church, as its strength and resources increase, will be able to offer better prospects to those who enter its service. Meanwhile, if any English Unitarian millionaire wishes to gladden the hearts of the more necessitous Hungarian ministers, let him expend a couple of hundred pounds in well-selected gifts of books to enrich their meagre libraries. To many of these earnest and excellent men, such an increase of their literary treasures would be almost a new beginning of blessedness.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ORDINATION.

THE religious service on the second day of the Synod was held in connection with the ordination of eight young ministers, of whom Mr. Boros, late of Manchester New College, was one. The church was again crowded in every part. Professor Kovács, of Klausenburg, was special preacher, his text being 1 Cor. iii., 7—"Neither is he that planteth, nor he that watereth anything, but God that giveth the increase." In treating his subject he most ably depicted the duties and responsibilities of those who dedicate themselves to the Christian ministry. They

must, he urged, display in their own lives all the graces of the Christian character, or they will fail to elevate the souls of others, or wean them from passion and self-love. They must further be revealers of fresh truth, and sources of fresh inspiration, and not mere exponents of an outworn creed. If they are thus gifted, they will stir up men's hearts and gain the sovereignty over them by the magic power of self-sacrifice, and by loving the people as Christ loved them. In this way they will be fellow-labourers with the Son of man in regenerating and uplifting mankind, and may rely, in a devout and humble spirit, for the help of Him who alone can give the increase. After this thoughtful discourse the Bishop ascended the pulpit, and gave the charge to the candidates for ordination. The intense silence and eager attention of the large assembly showed that in Hungary eloquence is still an indisputable and paramount power. After this address the candidates were questioned as to their intention of entering the ministry, and then each signed his name in the ancient register, before the whole congregation. This venerable record dates from 1634, and contains nearly a thousand names. The oath of fidelity, given above, was then administered by the Rev. Joseph Derzsi, the candidates repeating it after him, with upraised thumb. Each then kneeled down in the centre of the communion enclosure, and the Bishop and assistant clergy, laying their hands on his head, pronounced over him an appropriate benediction. A short concluding address was then given by the Bishop, and the Rev. Michael Kiss closed the ceremony with prayer.

The dinner which followed the Ordination service was enlivened by a new and peculiar display of oratorical power. Towards the close of the festivity, as attention to the toasts had begun to flag, Mr. Samuel Kerekes, a newspaper editor from Maros Vasarhely, mounted one of the tables, and delivered a long and unpremeditated speech in rhyme. This naturally secured the applause of

the assembly, much in the same way as when recently, pedestrian feats had been overdone in England, a performer in that line gained fresh laurels by wheeling a barrow from the Land's End to John o' Groat's and back. Mr. Kerekes is known all over Transylvania as a genuine improvisator, but when his efforts are long-continued the afflatus has to be sustained by carefully compounded libations of tea and rum. In a spirit of generous emulation, Mr. Gordon entered the lists against the possessor of this new variety of the gift of tongues, using Hungarian and Latin as the brick and mortar of his poetical structure. Unfortunately I can only give the first two lines, using English instead of Hungarian—

Our good friend Kerekes, *loquitur poetice*,
I, too, the same would do, *non tam magnifice*.

This amicable challenge drew another impromptu poem from Kerekes, in which he made a smart pun on Mr. Gordon's name, which in Hungarian means a violoncello. Mr. Gordon also in a more serious strain spoke as follows in Hungarian:—"Permit me by way of thanks for our hearty reception, here among the free mountains of the Szekler land, to propose to you a motto—'The nation which is not merely ripe for freedom and capable of it, but shrinks from no sacrifice,, and understands how to defend its freedom, that nation verily deserves it.' Heaven grant that in your fatherland national freedom—freedom of faith and freedom of conscience—may flourish for ever. Long live the Szeklers." This sentiment met with a most enthusiastic response. A toast which I proposed, namely, "The liberal Protestantism of Continental Europe," was also well received. I said it could only be a becoming thing on the part of that church which had carried out the work of the Reformation to its logical conclusion to wish well to other churches which were still struggling with difficulties such as were overcome by the Unitarians of three centuries ago. In studying the ecclesiastical movements of the Continent one felt constantly as if

moving amid a vast expanse of theological ruins; but here in Transylvania I had found freshness of faith and fulness of life. Lamentably there were still in many countries not merely the smouldering fires of old dislikes and sectarian jealousies, but even open strife and embittered feeling. In Germany and elsewhere the representatives of the mediæval theology failed to see that the day for fighting theological battles with poisoned weapons was past and gone. In the sore straits to which not a few of their liberal brethren were thus reduced it was all the more incumbent on the Transylvanian Church to be not merely a guide to truth, but a healer of division and a source of fraternity and concord. Let her show that the spirit of Christ can unite what bigotry and error have divided. The *Protestanten Verein* of Germany, the *Protestanten Bund* of Holland, the *Free Christian Association* of Switzerland, and the liberal Protestants of France stood practically on the same basis of belief as the Unitarian Churches; and there was no reason why there should not be an interchange of sympathy and intercourse between these liberal Protestants and the Hungarian Church as there was already between them and their co-religionists in England. The men of free progressive mind, who formed the strength of these organisations all accepted the grand fundamental truth of the unity and spirituality of God. And this was none other than the truth which the Hungarian Church had for three hundred years held so faithfully, and proclaimed. It had long rendered this service to Christendom, unrecognised and unhonoured, while the pseudo-Protestantism of Western Europe lay under the yoke of tradition, or joined in an unholy alliance with reactionary governments. Now, at last, in the dawn of a new Reformation, it was needful that their liberal brethren in other lands should learn the lessons of their history, and share the spirit which animated their efforts. And what was desirable under present circumstances was not so much a formal or outward union, as the conscious

ness of common aims and work, and the sense of true fraternal sympathy. The promotion of this unity of spirit was, I continued, an object very dear to me, and any influence I possessed would be gladly exercised for its advancement.

The same evening I delivered a lecture in the hall of the Gymnasium on "National Progress in its Higher Aspects," the President of the Synod occupying the chair. Most of those were present whose knowledge of German was at all extensive or accurate, and many thanked me for the effort I had made to point out a new field of activity for their church. I suggested in the opening of the lecture that the Francis David Commemoration ought to rouse not merely feelings of gratitude to the heroes and martyrs of their faith, but a sense of responsibility for privileges enjoyed and a readiness for fresh effort and self-denial. Their church had opportunities of usefulness such as were enjoyed by few officially-recognised ecclesiastical organisations in Europe. Most of these were hampered by the all-absorbing bureaucracy of their governments and the prevailing dread of liberalism in every form. The liberties of Hungary and of its Unitarian Church were fortunately now secure; and the time had come when the higher qualities of the Hungarian race could have free play and power. There was especially a favourable opportunity for the promotion of a Christian culture as opposed to the materialism which was spreading far and wide. The mission which thus lay before them could be best appreciated when the political, social, and religious condition of Continental Europe was examined. This survey occupied the main body of the lecture, and showed that the mental and moral elevation of the people lagged sadly behind the march of scientific discovery and the construction of a more imposing framework and machinery of civilisation. The outward splendour of material prosperity was, however, insufficient for the true welfare of society, and the secret springs of human happiness needed

to be constantly replenished from an unseen source. The vital principles not of nominal, but of real Christianity, must be brought to bear on humanity as the stimulus and inspiration to a nobler existence, and society be built up in accordance with the higher law of duty and elevated self-control. A translation of the lecture, by the Rev. Denis Péterfi and a Lutheran clergyman, has appeared in the *Christian Seedsower*, the organ of the Unitarian Church in Hungary.

After the lecture, a fine ode on Francis David, from the pen of Mr. A. F. Murányi, was recited with excellent taste and effect, by Mr. Charles Várady, of Klausenburg. It depicted how the great Unitarian prophet had come to be honoured in his own land, how as a Reformer he had anticipated the religious needs of to-day, and as a martyr had shown that death has no power over truth, or over those who dedicate themselves to its service. The reception of the poem showed that its author had struck a congenial chord and appealed to the distinctive national and religious spirit of his countrymen. Had another poet, the late Bishop Kriza, been spared to take part in the Francis David tercentenary, he would doubtless have brought his refined thought and exquisite taste and fancy to bear on this grand theme. As that could not be, our Hungarian friends have cause to be grateful that two such gifted writers as Jákab and Murányi have told the story and the lessons of Francis David's career in animated prose and really brilliant verse.

On Tuesday, August 26th, the Synod was still busily at work, the forenoon being chiefly occupied with an earnest discussion on the question of adding another year's course of study to the curriculum of the Keresztúr Gymnasium. The decision come to was that in the existing state of the finances of the Church, it would be impracticable to carry out the extension for some time to come. Leaving the "fathers and brethren" to settle this, and some remaining detail work, I spent the greater part of the day in

exploring the town and neighbourhood of Keresztúr, in company with Mr. Boros, who had been appointed by the Synod to the Classical Professorship at Thorda, and who has since, quite unexpectedly, been installed as successor to the late Professor Simén in the chair of Biblical Criticism at Klausenburg. In the evening we visited the relatives of my friend, Professor Kovács, in Fiafalva, where we enjoyed the hospitality of the mayor of the village, and were instructed in the domestic economy of a Szekler household. Next morning Mr. Gordon and I left Keresztúr with unfeigned regret, for warm friendships are speedily formed in Hungary, and the little straggling town of some six hundred houses lying embosomed amongst softly rounded hills on the verge of the Szeklerland will be remembered by us when the aspect of more imposing places has become dim and vague.

CHAPTER VII.

AMONG THE SZEKLEERS.

I HAD intended to spend a few days after the close of the Synod in visiting some of the German towns in the south-east of Transylvania, but offers of hospitality such as one seldom meets with out of Hungary, made me alter my plans. A project had been quietly but most considerately formed to enable Mr. Gordon and me to visit the principal Unitarian villages, the county town of Udvarhely, and the ancient mountain stronghold of Firtos, and it may be supposed that little persuasion was needed to make us accept so attractive a programme. Mr. Denis Pálfi and Mr. Sigismund Jakabházi, two well-known Szekler squires, were to provide hospitality and conveyance, and Baron Orban and Mr. Boros were also to be *compagnons de voyage*. Our route after leaving Keresztúr lay past the Calvinistic village of Rugonfalva, with its sombre-looking church surrounded by a massive wall. These fortified

churches are a striking feature of Transylvanian landscapes, but the finest specimens are to be found in the German districts. This fact is easily to be accounted for by the tendencies and habits of the two peoples. The Szeklers have never shown much building enterprise, and as they have always preferred to meet the enemy in the open field, they contented themselves with a simple line of defence where they could stand at bay till help arrived. Besides, having for ages felt a special pride in voluntarily guarding the frontier, they could usually hold a superior force in check till the women and children were safe in some inaccessible mountain fastness. On the other hand, the German villagers made the most elaborate preparations for standing a protracted siege. These industrious colonists, who chiefly emigrated in the twelfth century from the districts of the Lower Rhine had not long settled in Transylvania before they had literally to struggle for existence against the Mongolian hordes which invaded the country in the reign of Bela IV. These at one time swept over Hungary to the number of half a million, and left the land a wilderness. This terrible calamity, combined with a sense of insecurity caused by the subsequent conquests of the Turks, led the Germans to adopt a system which is altogether unique. The church was usually built on high ground, if possible on a conical hill, and with its deep walls, narrow windows, and massive buttresses, formed the nucleus of the stronghold. These buildings were most ingeniously designed for enabling their defenders to ward off assault. By keeping nave and choir of equal height, and joining the buttresses near the top with arches, a breast-work and gangway were formed all round, the latter having openings for pouring burning pitch, or other substances, on the attacking party below. In some cases the church tower or the chancel was so constructed as to serve as a final retreat. A pile of great stones for hurling down on the besiegers remains on the platform of several of these churches to this day. Round the church these

patient Tuetonic builders raised a massive loop-holed wall, often with lofty towers at the angles and gateway, and storehouses for provisions and other property, space enough being left to shelter the inhabitants and their belongings in case of attack. The pastor's house was usually within the enclosure, and as a leading member of the church militant he was expected to take an active part in the defence. The schoolmaster had generally a tower allotted to him, where he pursued his avocation during the siege to keep the children out of harm's way. The counties of Hermannstadt, Kronstadt, and Bistritz are studded with these picturesque strongholds, while near a few of the market towns are the ruins of great burgher castles of admirable design and astonishing solidity and magnitude. Some of these fortresses could only have been raised by the labour of successive generations, and it is lamentable that they have been abandoned to destruction or decay. Fortunately most of the so-called "Saxon churches" are complete ; and when Transylvania becomes better known, photographs of these village Kremlins will doubtless find their way into many English homes.

Not far from Rugonfalva we came on a colony of exceedingly squalid gipsies, living in huts which a respectable Zulu would utterly despise. Their appearance reminded me of Cowper's graphic sketch, which I am tempted to quote—

I see a column of slow-rising smoke
O'ertop the lofty wood that skirts the wild.
A vagabond and useless tribe there eat
Their miserable meal. A kettle, flung
Between two poles upon a stick transverse,
Receives the morsel—flesh obscene of dog,
Or vermin, or, at best, of cock purloined
From his accustomed perch. Hard-faring race,
They pick their fuel out of every hedge,
Which, kindled with dry leaves, just saves unquenched
The spark of life. The sportive wind blows wide
Their fluttering rags, and shows a tawny skin,
The vellum of the livery they claim.

Transylvania is one great museum of human as well as natural products, and this singular race forms an interest-

ing element of its motley population. It is supposed that the tribe found its way to Hungary in the beginning of the fifteenth century, having fled from Central Asia or India during the Mongol reign of terror. About the close of last century Pastor Benedict, of Debreczin, mastered their language, and on visiting England found that the gipsies in this country understood him very well. There are now about eighty thousand of them in Transylvania, but three-fourths of this number have settled homes, and caste distinctions are so strong that the higher grades would not drink from a cup used by one of their half-savage brethren. On reaching the mansion of Mr. Jakabházi, at Siménfalva, who employs about one hundred and forty civilised gipsies on his estate, we had an opportunity after dinner of seeing them return in a long procession from the fields. Some of the women carried small brown babies, that appeared able to find footing anywhere on their mothers' shoulders, backs, or breasts. These labourers are almost entirely paid in food and other necessities, and if kindly treated are very honourable towards their master, and generally adopt his religion. When smarting under any grievance, they, on the contrary, sometimes change their faith *en masse*, and when conciliated undergo as speedy a re-conversion. The women are, as a rule, very fond of ornaments, and the men are, above all things, proud of a horse or a pair of scarlet breeches. Of late years they have in a few districts begun to intermarry with the Wallachs, and the sharp distinction between them and the other races in Hungary will, no doubt, gradually disappear.

The Synod had closed, as it had opened, under a cloudless sky, and all the way to Siménfalva the sunshine had been like liquid gold. Soon, however, after our arrival, a sharp thunderstorm passed over the district, and gave us some experience of what Transylvanian roads must be in rainy weather. Struggling through mud that might have served as mortar, we called at the parsonage, where

a plump little servant told us the "pope" was away, but we could enter, and make ourselves at home. The minister's first-born lay asleep in his cradle, and we subjected *pope minimus*, as Mr. Gordon styled him, to a scientific scrutiny, to ascertain the strength of his hereditary Unitarian tendencies. Having visited the church and school, and scraped off the mud with the help of half-a-dozen servants, we reluctantly parted from Mr. Jakabházi's kind and accomplished family, and started with fresh horses for Tarcsafalva, the residence of Mr. Denis Pálfi.

As our route lay through the village of Kadács, the former home and burial-place of Prof. Simén, Mr. Gordon's earliest Hungarian friend, we took the opportunity of seeing his grave and paying a short visit to his widowed mother. It was almost dark when we arrived, and the venerable dame received us, by the light of a small candle, in her commodious but rather bare-looking farmhouse. Even by the dim light Mr. Gordon and I both noticed in her features a singular resemblance to those of the greatest liberal theologian of the present day, a fact which tempted me to suggest that her career must have been a series of "Endeavours after the Christian life." She placed a bottle of cherry brandy and some glasses on the table, and the sight gladdened my heart, for I had indiscreetly been eating unripe fruit. But in this instance, as often before and since, I had to bewail the proverbial slip between the cup and the lip. The old lady, apparently carried away by a cross-current of feeling, struck an oratorical attitude, and commenced a harangue, which absorbed her energies of mind and body, and banished all recollection of her hospitable intent. A few of the neighbours came silently in and grouped themselves in the background, adding to the picturesqueness of the scene. The effect was also heightened by the shadow of the speaker gesticulating weirdly on the wall. The theme of her address was one ever dear to the aged—the glory of the good old times and

the degeneracy of the younger generation. The intellectual triumphs of Girton and Newnham were evidently unknown in Kadács, for we were assured that the women of to-day have no redeeming quality. Indeed so strong was her language, that had she been acquainted with current pessimistic phraseology, she would have doubtless borrowed an expression of Schopenhauer, and affirmed that modern women were worse than no women at all. At the age of fourscore, she said, her remaining strength was being spent in plucking a few brands from the burning. She had two or three Catholic girls in training, and would make them zealous Unitarians and good wives and mothers. She then showed us the bed on which her son had died, and gave Mr. Gordon his photograph, writing her *maiden* name upon it according to the Szekler custom. Under the guidance of the Mayor of the village we then visited the grave, which is in a field belonging to the family not far from the Unitarian church. There are few public graveyards in Transylvania, each family burying its dead on the ancestral soil, or if poor receiving permission to inter on the estate of a friend or neighbour. After this visit we drove on to Tarcsafalva, where the Baroness Pálfi gave us a genuine Hungarian welcome.

Our visit to Firtos combined the pleasures of a pic-nic with the interest of an antiquarian exploration. As carriages would have soon broken down on the rough mountain roads, we travelled in three light country carts, stuffed with hay to lessen the force of the jolting, and each drawn by a pair of spirited Hungarian ponies. Our route lay up into a wild and broken country, where, however, the land on nearly every available slope was cultivated. The fields of maize grew fewer as we ascended, and the hardier kinds of cereals took their place. Many unfamiliar plants appeared on the banks along the way, and dwarfish trees had twisted themselves with singular tenacity into every notch and ledge of the ravines. At Enlaka we halted to visit the minister and to inspect the

church, which is the oldest and most interesting Unitarian building in the Szekerland. The village lies in a narrow sheltered valley, from which, towards the north-east, there is a long, gradual ascent of more than two thousand feet to the summit of Firtos. On the opposite side of the village the ground rises more abruptly, and on the highest point of the ridge stands the venerable church, encircled by a strong defensive wall. In design and interior arrangement, it does not differ very materially from those I have already described, a fact which may be due to some of the builders of the later churches having chosen it as their model. The tower is not, however, placed, as usual at the end, but is built, as a campanile, before the principal entrance, on one side. The unknown architect of the church, who most probably laid its foundations about four hundred years ago, has shown what may be done, with only indifferent materials, and perhaps mere rustic skill at command. The faultless proportions of the whole structure, the simple elegance of the tower and spire, and the picturesqueness of the open porch underneath all testify to the remarkable talent of the designer, or his very correct artistic training. The building possesses a further attraction for visitors in having on its panelled ceiling the only extant inscription in the ancient Szekler alphabet. On the slope between the church and the village, a commodious parsonage was in course of erection to replace a rather primitive structure, which has done duty for several generations.

The Unitarian minister of Enlaka has, so far as I have learned, only one dissenter in his parish, and this individual, the Jewish landlord of the village inn, attached himself to the party of Szekler farmers who volunteered to accompany us up the mountain. Our unwelcome companion was a fair specimen of that humbler class of Israelites who plant themselves in the villages and market towns of Eastern Europe, and profit by the inexperience or weakness of the peasants, and the

poverty of the middle classes. Hungary has always been a happy hunting-ground for Jewish financiers of every description, from the unpretentious village publican and money-lender, up to the powerful usurers of the middle ages, under whose exactions monarchs writhed and protested in vain. As early as the reign of Andrew II. (1205 to 1235), the Jews were not only tolerated, but allowed to exercise great influence on account of their acquaintance with financial affairs. In the succeeding reign their power had increased to such an extent that permission was given them to seize the estates of magnates, on account of debts, and hold them till redeemed by some Christian. About that time, according to good authority, they were allowed to charge interest at the rate of *one hundred and four* per cent. Such cruel extortion, combined with the frequent abuse of their privileges, gradually exhausted the patience of the ruling classes in Hungary, so that in the sixteenth century we find them subjected to various restraints. Nevertheless, in 1524, a Jew held the lucrative position of Master of the Mint in Kaschau, and from first to last the treatment of the race shows how decidedly the Magyars have always leaned towards religious equality and freedom. During the late debates on Jewish emancipation in Roumania and Servia, a good deal of misunderstanding has prevailed in England on this subject. The religious aspect of the question, which is chiefly dealt with by the London press, does not count for much amongst the educated classes in the Danubian principalities. It is not alone through religious intolerance, but through fear of social complications, that complete emancipation is so reluctantly conceded. While the respectable Jews are often useful and public-spirited citizens, there is a class which is quite the reverse. And in such a country as Servia the peasants are especially exposed to the wiles of unscrupulous cabaret-keepers, who establish themselves in the villages, and offer temptations to run into debt for their adulterated liquor. This is, of course, frequently

followed by their gaining control of the crops and cattle, and it seems but reasonable that the law should prevent such adventurers from acquiring the villagers' land and setting up as autocrats over half the community. I was exceedingly sorry to find that such a questionable character had attached himself to the simple, industrious, and tranquil life of Enlaka. But, from the manner in which he was treated by our village escort, it may be surmised that there is little risk of these shrewd and vigorous mountaineers losing their ancestral fields, through the attractions of his untidy bar-room.

The ascent of Firtos was an easy matter, thanks to our wiry ponies, which took us within five hundred feet of the summit. On the way we visited the site of a Roman *Colonia*, established here to defend the road to the mines in the Pojana range. The lines of the walls and streets could be distinctly traced, but only the masonry of a few foundations remained intact. Higher up we were compelled to drive through fields of standing corn, but our Szekler friends "took joyfully the spoiling of their goods." Leaving our *impedimenta*, we climbed the precipitous upper section of the mountain, and enjoyed a magnificent view of at least one-third of Transylvania. Looking north and east we found ourselves apparently on the outer edge of civilisation. In the valleys beneath lay a slight fringe of villages, and then a great solitary tract of forest and scrub, and beyond this the range of the Haregitta mountains, shaped fantastically by nature's agencies of wind, and rain, and glacier. The breadth of this vast unpeopled belt of country is in most places over thirty miles, in a direct line, but many of its fertile portions will soon be cleared of their beautiful growth of ferns and flowers, and brought under the culture of man. Turning to the south and west the view embraced the majestic range of the Transylvanian Alps, rising about 8,000 feet high. Nearer at hand were the more thickly inhabited districts of the Szeklerland, covering the greater part of two counties.

This whole expanse is so broken by innumerable ravines and valleys that it appeared like a storm-tossed sea, whose waves had suddenly been changed into solid ground. The central valleys of Transylvania are mostly about six hundred feet above the ocean, but the greater part of the Szeklerland has a far greater altitude, and, of course, a colder climate. And one can hardly observe this fact and notice besides the white walls and spires of the Unitarian churches rising above the village roofs, without reflecting how deeply climatic and religious influences have combined to impress themselves on the Szekler race. The keen air and less kindly soil have helped to endow them with their characteristic hardihood, while a pure faith has trained their conscience, and checked the wilder passions which were nursed in their former Asiatic home. In this way the restless, nervous energy of the Magyar type has been sobered down, in their Szekler kinsmen, into cautious self-restraint, and elasticity of temperament into greater earnestness and singleness of purpose. It may be safely predicted that history has not yet heard the last of this remarkable people.

The summit of the Firtos is an irregular plateau of fifteen or twenty acres, with ruined fortifications of considerable strength; but the mountain has only been scarped where it is at all accessible. Tradition ascribes the foundation of the stronghold to the Romans, and it is said to have been attacked by Attila, but the greater part of the existing ramparts date from the thirteenth century. There are also the traces of a religious settlement, but the architectural ambition of the ecclesiastics must have been easily satisfied. Of these remains, the most interesting are the ruins of two chapels, one outside, and the other within the walls. The former was dedicated to St. John, while the latter was for a time Unitarian, but the storms of six hundred years, or perhaps the ravages of war, have reduced both to shapeless masses of roughly hewn stones. Descending to our camping-ground, we found a large fire kindled

and a dinner prepared, showing the customary Hungarian fare during hunting expeditions. Then, parting from our village friends, we attempted the descent on the side next Korond, and had a hard struggle with deep water-courses and gigantic boulders as the night closed in. Halfway down, Baron Orban and I, who were carriage companions throughout this excursion, had the good luck to be varying matters by a walk when our vehicle was upset in a very violent fashion, and in awkward proximity to some extremely angular stones. Had we retained our seats a little longer the Hungarian Parliament might have lost, at least for a time, one of its ablest Liberals, and the English Free Christian ministry one of its cosmopolitan members. At last, by the help of a goatherd, we reached the road in the valley below, and put up for the night at a bathing establishment belonging to Mr. Jakabhazi, near Korond. Next morning we had the luxury of a salt bath, and an unlimited supply of mineral-water, of which there are three different kinds, all highly recommended by medical men. It is worth mentioning that the whole establishment, with fifty-seven acres of land, is now in the market for £6,000, an excellent opportunity for the investment of English capital. In the forenoon we had an enthusiastic reception from the villagers of Korond, and attended the week-day service in the Unitarian church. We then returned by a fresh route to Tarcsafalva, thus ending an excursion which had opened to us a wealth of historic interest as well as natural beauty.

CHAPTER VIII.

A TRANSYLVANIAN ARCADIA.

THE next item on our programme was a visit to the home of Mr. Boros, in Tordatfalva, the distance being only an easy drive. Our friend has an enthusiastic love of his native village, and is justly proud of its inhabitants, and

though far from well, he forgot his bodily troubles in the prospect of entertaining us under the paternal roof. Before describing this Transylvanian Arcadia, I wish to explain how the Szeklers occupy a position so superior to the ordinary peasants in most parts of Hungary. It is difficult to describe how utterly unlike such Szekler communities are to the Hungarian villages usually depicted in books of travel. It is not, generally speaking, a very pleasant picture which English travellers have drawn of the rural life of Hungary. According to them a village usually consists of a double row of fragile huts in a wild lonely landscape, with the cattle of some nobleman browsing near in great herds, and the mounted Csikos circling round a drove of untamed horses in the distance. This is perfectly accurate as applied to many parts of the Great Plain or *puszta*, and much of the country round Lake Balaton, which Englishmen have chiefly explored, but is quite misleading in reference to the Szeklerland. And it need hardly be said that the herdsman of the Puszta, who oils his underclothing when new, and wears it till it falls off like autumn leaves, has little in common with the intelligent yeomen to be found in such villages as Tordatfalva. The Szeklers have always occupied the peculiar position of a kind of peasant aristocracy, or free-men, or to use the current Hungarian phrase they are "all noble." Besides the right of hunting and other privileges, they were formerly entrusted with the defence of the frontier, and allowed to organise their own contingents in time of war. On the other hand, the ordinary Hungarian peasant, up to 1785, was attached to the soil, and much in the same condition as the Russian serfs before their emancipation. Indeed, notwithstanding the so-called *Urbarium* of Maria Theresa which more accurately fixed the reciprocal obligations of the lord and his vassal, there was, up to 1848, scarcely any limit to the services which the peasants were compelled to perform. By a persistent extension of their privileges, the nobility

were free from taxes, tolls, or dues. The noble stalked haughtily over the bridge of boats at Buda-Pesth, while the poor peasant or burgher had to stand and deliver. The peasants were, of course, excluded from the ownership of land, and the burghers could only own what lay within the precincts of the free cities. The latter had, it is true, the right of sending deputies to the Diet, but they were often treated as little better than intruders. Some of the smaller privileges which Maria Theresa secured for the peasants show that they were expected to be thankful for very small mercies. They were to be allowed to collect acorns in the landlord's woods for twopence halfpenny less than strangers. The practice of demanding tenths of feathers, and plucking the live geese of the peasants, was prohibited. When the peasant was put in irons in the landlord's prison, the fee for the trouble of locking him up was not to exceed sixpence. A strong and healthy peasant was not to receive more than twenty-four strokes with a cane at one time, while the softer sex was to have the same number with a whip. The aged and infirm were to be disciplined by imprisonment with bread and water diet. There is also a touch of grim irony in the use of the Latin terms employed in the public acts of Hungary, for though the people were allowed no interference with affairs of state, the term *populus* is used to denote the ruling body, which practically consisted of the nobility and higher clergy. Much franker language is, however, used of the citizens and peasants who bore the public burdens, these being styled the *misere contribucns plebs*. This wretched system was swept away in 1848, but a large portion of the Hungarian peasantry still bears the traces of protracted servitude. A people which for ages has had no fostering care, or stimulus to progress, or inducement to self-respect does not fully regain the stamp of manhood in a single generation. Hence arises in great part the striking superiority of the Szeklers, who, in addition to the influ

ence of race and a remarkable history, have jealously guarded their independence and privileges, while the peasants of Hungary proper, in spite of the suppression of villanage by King Sigismund in 1405, allowed it again to be introduced.

The village of Tordatfalva is a favourable specimen of what has sprung up in the course of fourteen centuries from the unpromising stem of Attila and his Huns. It has not a very central location, nor is it large, having only about six hundred inhabitants, who are all Unitarian. It is approached from the south by a good road over a succession of breezy ridges, and from the summit of the last one looks down on perhaps a hundred houses, clustered in a curious sloping valley, which runs up from rich alluvial fields to a horizon of pasture land and plantations above. As fruit culture is largely followed, there is an abundance of foliage to hide the less pleasing details of the picture. On either side of the shaded central street stand the houses of the village magnates, each with its gable to the road, and its front facing a roomy farmyard, defended by a high palisade, and an arched wooden gateway. On a round hill, resembling a gigantic *tumulus* at the lower end of the village, stands the church, its entrance being almost on a level with the tops of the trees. There is also the glitter of a stream visible from where we stand, and looking round, we see the multitudinous crests of distant hills ascending to cloudland, and mingling in ever-varying splendour and beauty.

Viewed from without, the village looked like a natural portion of the landscape, and on entering it, the inhabitants seemed to harmonise completely with their surroundings. Our reception was cordial in the extreme, but the demeanour of the people had a touch of dignified reserve as if they disliked the very semblance of conventional hypocrisies. The minister received us courteously, and with pardonable pride showed us his farmyard, well stocked with the harvest offerings of his

flock. Not a few English ministers might be glad to hold the benefice of Tordatfalva, though the value of the living would not bulk largely in a banking account. So long as a preacher could appeal to the healthy religious instincts of the people, and interpret for them the lessons of nature, he would not find his enthusiasm chilled by indifference, nor the pews left empty through petty calculations about social prestige, or material interests. Nothing more would be needed here to secure his ascendancy than persuasiveness, devotion, and love. Amongst these villagers he would not require to preach sermons proving that life is worth living, for, in spite of common ills and trials, everyone is quite content with existence. Nor would he be called upon to combat Agnosticism, for amid these hills the people cannot help believing in Him who built the high places of the earth.

We found the church a massive structure, arranged in the usual way, but the school needs to be re-built and better equipped. Small though this building is, it has sent out many excellent scholars, some of whom now hold high positions in various parts of Hungary. Two of the students who have completed their course at Manchester New College had their early education here—Mr. Boros and Mr. Charles Derzsi, and Mr. Gombos, my kind host at Keresztúr, was a pupil at an earlier date. There is thus a Professor in each of the three Unitarian Colleges who is a native of Tordatfalva. So early as 1832 a mutual improvement society existed in the village, and this has been lately re-organised with Mr. Boros' help. There is now a library in connection with it, and numerous papers and magazines are circulated amongst the members. Mr. Gordon and I were very hospitably entertained by Mr. Boros' relatives, who are people of consequence in the village. His eldest sister, with her little boy upon her knee, might form a subject for the Madonna and Child, so refined and gentle are her features and expression.

A full description of this pleasing Szekler interior might

easily be given, but what has been said will show the kind of surroundings amid which our Transylvanian students are born and bred. The secluded life in which they are reared is no eventful drama; but its manliness, integrity, and religiousness have been born out of arduous conflict, and are enforced no less by the sanction of the dead than the influence of the living. Hence, though opportunities of wide experience and for upbuilding character may seem but scanty, there is here a worthy training-ground for Christian duty, and strong incentives to reflection and discernment. And those who leave this peaceful village for larger fields of effort carry with them an exalted aim and ideal, or at least a wholesome dread of staining its dear and honoured name by any failure or disgrace. And, without doubt, the memory of its beautiful aspect, when wrapped, as we saw it, in the purple haze of a summer evening, must abide with them like a fixed star over the path of their life.

Baron Blasius Orban, to whom we paid our next visit, might be styled the Sir Charles Dilke of the Hungarian Parliament. Both politicians can only breathe freely in the atmosphere of advanced Liberalism, and both carry on a persistent warfare against time-honoured absurdities, and against the reactionary coteries by whom they are upheld. The Baron has had, however, a far more eventful career than the member for Chelsea. In his youth he threw himself, with the ardour of his race, into the grand rising of 1848, firmly convinced that there was nothing impossible to Magyar determination and valour. After the cruel intervention of Russia, and the consequent surrender at Vilagos, he had to eat the bitter bread of exile, in company with Kossuth and other leaders of the patriotic party. Afterwards, as times improved, he busied himself writing what is now the best existing work on the topography and antiquities of Transylvania. More recently, under the new *modus vivendi* with Austria, he has been actively engaged in Parliamentary duties, but

has found time to establish an excellent watering place on his estate near Udvarhely. Here we paid him and his brother a visit, our way lying over a high country, which again sank down into the Valley of the Greater Kuküllö, in which Udvarhely stands. Of course we put the bath to a practical test, and can vouch for its invigorating properties. Medical men of great eminence pronounce the spring one of the best in Transylvania, and the Baron has thus the double satisfaction of curing the physical disorders of his countrymen as well as the ailments of the body politic. Some of these Transylvanian mineral springs have really a most stimulating effect; and were they within easier reach of London they would no doubt restore many a *blusé* victim of fashionable dissipation to health, if not to a sense of human dignity and duty.

The town of Székely-Udvarhely, which we afterwards visited, has the usual Hungarian characteristics of wide streets and straggling suburbs, but it has several good buildings and a clean and cheerful appearance. Provost Demeter, the Roman Catholic dignitary, who was present at the Synod, lives here, his large Byzantine church and residence occupying a fine position on high ground behind the town. We paid him a return visit, and were most cordially received. The most polite attention was also shown us by the professors of the Calvinistic High School, which is the chief educational institution in the town. The ruins of two castles, one in the town, and one on the hill above, are of great historical interest. The former dates from the 13th century, on a Roman base. Queen Isabella resided here about the middle of the 16th century, and did much to improve it. The latter, which is styled the castle of Budvár (from Atilla's brother Buda) was the chief stronghold in Transylvania before the settlement of the German colonies.

CHAPTER IX.

SZEKLER HOSPITALITY.

INTO the few days of our stay at Tarcsafalva was compressed as much enjoyment as Bunyan's Pilgrim found on the Delectable Hills. Out of doors we had delightful weather and charming scenery, and in our temporary home, that inimitable Hungarian hospitality which so delicately discovers a stranger's tastes and wants. A slight sketch of the residence of the Pálfi family may not be unwelcome. Outwardly the mansion has little to distinguish it from an English country house except its picturesque verandah, lined with evergreens and flowering plants. The well-kept garden and lawn, and the orchard lying open to the warm sunlight on the slope beneath have also a decidedly English look. But indoors the large central hall, which serves as vestibule and dining-room, gives the house a distinctively Hungarian character. From this the suites of public rooms and family apartments branch off on either side, all being on the ground floor. According to the custom of the country most of the former are also used as bedrooms, that allotted to me having drawing-room furniture in light covers, which contrasted pleasantly with the dark polished floor. In the great courtyard behind there is, as in most Hungarian establishments, an apparent superfluity of servants, and so large a stud that during a short visit a guest seldom drives out with the same equipment. Our excellent host was a mighty hunter in his earlier days, and still wages war against the wolves and bears and other denizens of the Transylvanian forests. Happening to mention to us that on one occasion he *shot* twelve foxes in a single day, he was profoundly astonished to hear that in England this would be regarded as little less culpable than homicide, and would exclude him from every club in Pall Mall. The Baroness is a true type of her class, having the elegant but vigorous form, the graceful manners and refined

tastes so constantly found amongst the Hungarian nobility. The family consists of two daughters, aged about fourteen and twelve. The eldest has a double share of the Hungarian genius for housekeeping, and at the time of our visit seemed meditating a *coup d'état*, with the view of throwing off the yoke of her German governess, and hanging the keys of the whole establishment at her belt. The prophecy may be ventured that when a few years have passed, and the *fiançailles* are over for both daughters of the house, there will be a sprinkling of forlorn suitors in several counties of Transylvania.

I parted from these kind friends, and from Mr. Gordon, after attending public worship with them in the handsome church of Szentmihály; and after a short farewell visit to Mr. Jakabházi's family, at Siménfalva, I started on the long journey to Maros Vásárhely, Mr. Boros accompanying me about half-a-dozen miles on the way. From the crest of the lofty hill where we separated, to the main road in the valley beneath, was a descent of at least a thousand feet; but in spite of unbridged watercourses, and a gradient which would have driven English horses frantic, my driver contrived to pilot his ponies down across country to the village of Gagy without the slightest mishap. To show that I appreciated his skill, I sent him into the village wine-shop to get some refreshment, while I held the reins. Scarcely had he left me when an elderly gentleman, in semi-clerical garb, approached the conveyance, and delivered a short address of welcome in sonorous Latin. This was to the effect that the speaker was the Rev. Joseph Ferencz, for more than forty years the Unitarian minister of the village, and that he and his wife would deem it a special honour to receive me under their roof, to break their bread and diminish their wine. Finding that he knew very little German, I contrived, by the dexterous transposition of one or two texts from the Vulgate, to say, in reply, that in England Latin was considered the language of the dead, and not of the living.

I could not, therefore, properly express my thanks, but would gladly accept his hospitality, so far as my time allowed. I then accompanied him to the parsonage, when, after being introduced to his wife, we drank each other's healths in the two kinds of wine which he grew in his vineyard. One of these, he said, was his wife's favourite, the other was his own, and I must say which I preferred, so that he might place a supply in the carriage, for that to be got in the village inns was unfit for an Englishman's palate. The lady politely bowed approval. This kind offer placed me in an awkward dilemma, for both vintages were equally good, though of an entirely different sort. Apart from considerations of sentiment and courtesy, that of the minister was most suitable for summer use. The other was a rich red wine, worthy to fill the Malmsey butt in which the Duke of Clarence met his sweet but inglorious death. Feeling that deference to the lady of the house is the first duty of every guest, I selected that which my hostess patronised; and an abundant supply of this, and of fine white bread, was placed in the carriage as provision for the way. The minister then presented me with a rare copy of Hugo Grotius' *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, saying that he wished me to have a more lasting memento of my visit than the bread and wine, which perish. It may be imagined that I found it difficult to express my gratitude except by the universal language of feeling, which makes the whole world kin. Before bidding them farewell, my hostess and I embraced each other, according to the primitive custom of the country, as tenderly as if we had been mother and son; and on parting from the aged minister, I showed him, in the presence of the villagers, who had gathered near my conveyance, every mark of respect and honour which a thankful heart could suggest. On reaching the summit of the long ascent leading out of the valley, I paused to look down on the scene of this touching incident, but the view was some-

what blurred and broken. Possibly a transparent film of mist had overspread the landscape, or perhaps my sight was not so clear as usual.

My driver atoned for our delay by letting his mettlesome ponies scamper over the next ten miles at their own sweet will. By good fortune there was still sufficient daylight to enjoy the fine scenery along the route, and we drove into the village of Erdö St. George, scarcely half-an-hour behind the time when I had promised to be in readiness to start for Maros Vásárhely, in the carriage which my friends there were to send for me. But apparently a telegraphic error had upset the whole arrangement, and my intended host had driven all the twenty miles to meet me, and returned disappointed. This I learned at the village inn, but while dolefully considering the advisability of taking up my quarters there, a gentleman appeared on the scene and invited me to stay at his father-in-law's residence, which was close at hand. He also said that he and his wife were going to Maros next day, and would be glad if I would accept a seat in the carriage with them. Of course I thankfully accepted both invitations, remarking that hospitality seemed to be included among the Fine Arts in Hungary. My new friend's father-in-law proved to be one of the middle-class nobility, and little time was needed to make me feel thoroughly at home. After a sumptuous supper I was conducted to a handsome bed-room, below the balcony of which the Lesser Kuküllö (which is a much larger stream than its so-called "Greater" rival) went rippling past in the clear moonlight. Next morning we were up and on our way betimes, but the fates seemed as opposed to my reaching the banks of the Maros as they were to Balaam reaching the plains of Moab. When scarcely half way, we ran right into the thick of a closely contested sham battle between two large bodies of troops commanded by the Archdukes Albert and Joseph, and were glad to get our startled horses out of the dust and confusion into the shelter of a village farm-yard. Here

we were detained two or three hours, but were compensated for the delay by witnessing several scenes of mimic warfare, which were wonderfully like the grim reality. Just as we arrived the Archduke Albert, commanding the line regiments, had been out-manœuvred by the Honveds (home defenders or militia), and had lost twelve guns. The order was therefore given to fall back on a strong position formed by a range of downs across the river. Then column after column of infantry poured through the streets, all the strange *multiplum* of races inhabiting Hungary being represented in the ranks. The baggage and ambulances followed, the latter being by no means empty, as several men had dropped from sun-stroke and exhaustion. A strong rear-guard of foot and horse kept up the semblance of resistance for a little longer, and then left the village to the Archduke Joseph's army, which began to stream in like a flood. The new position being unassailable by direct attack, a turning movement was being initiated as we left, and in all probability the Honveds scored a double victory over their clumsy and unpopular antagonist.

The Hungarian officers, like most others in Europe, have largely modelled their tactics on the military system of Prussia. But it is to be hoped they will remember that the Magyar recruit is made of different material from his Brandenburg or Pomeranian compeer. I have often seen educated Germans take treatment from their officers on the drill grounds of Berlin, which would have driven a Hungarian to mutiny or suicide. Unless a volley was one flash and one report, or unless the long line moved like a machine, the storm broke pitilessly on the transgressors' heads. The Hungarian, though a born soldier, is loth to sink his individuality, whether on parade, or before the enemy. He will march and fight as a freeman, but not as the slave of a martinet. This is the reason why the Hungarians so frequently objected to enter the standing army which was established by the Austrian

Government in 1715. The sturdy Szekler, or the peasant of the plains, would have gladly fought for his country to the death. But he rightly refused to be sent into Italy or Poland to further the designs of a tyrannical clique in Vienna, or to become the tool of aggression against his own race. The Austrians were therefore astounded to find that the men who had tried to shirk the Emperor's service fought like desperadoes in 1848-9. Perhaps no better illustration can be given of the spirit in which the Hungarian fights, when his cause is good, and his religious patriotism is kindled, than the following incident which occurred during the battle of Temeswar, between Bem and Haynau. A cloud of cavalry was about to sweep down on the Austrian batteries, when a solitary hussar rode out before the ranks as if inspired, and lifting up his sword and eyes to heaven, he cried in a loud voice, "O God, if it be thy pleasure to fight on our side, well, but do not give succour to the enemy, remain sitting aloft on thy holy throne quiet and motionless, and thou shalt see how thy Hungarians will do battle in their own cause." This splendid military enthusiasm is the same which animated the hosts that battled for ages against Islam, and the next European war will show that it is neither dead nor lessened in intensity and power.

The reception given me in Maros Vásárhely showed that in leaving the country-houses and parsonages among the hills, I had not also left the Genius of hospitality behind. During my short stay in the little capital, the same regard was shown for my comfort and enjoyment as there had been by my less pre-occupied friends in the rural districts. It somewhat surprised me to find the chief town of the Szeklerland so extremely modern in appearance. Being a place of considerable antiquity and historical importance, its architecture might have been expected to illustrate the successive stages in the development of the Szekler race. But apart from its oldest church, it has little of that picturesque mediævalism which turns the streets of so

many Continental towns into chronicles of national life. On the contrary it looks as if its principal streets had been built about a generation ago, and suddenly equipped with the varied appliances of civilisation. Its fortress in its present form dates from about the time of Maria Theresa, and its public buildings mostly belong to the same period. Its aspect is thus painfully suggestive of the terrible sufferings which the people of Transylvania endured through repeated invasions and civil wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of the towns were at that time reduced to mere collections of huts, or heaps of rubbish, and Maros Vásárhely narrowly escaped being altogether crushed between the Austrians and Turks, as between the upper and nether millstone. If the story told of the election of Michael Apaffi, as prince of Transylvania, be true, the times must have been sadly out of joint about two hundred and twenty years ago. We are told that George Rakotski, the second prince of that name, fell fighting heroically against the Turks, and for some years after his death the country was wasted by civil feuds, and Turkish exactions. Two or three men of straw were set up as princes in succession, but at last stringent orders came from the Sultan to appoint some one capable of putting an end to the anarchy that prevailed. Ali Pasha, the Turkish General, stood long at a window overlooking the market place of Maros Vásárhely, with the Sultan's letter in his hand, wondering where he could find the right man for the difficult task. By chance a Szekler of herculean build crossed the large open space, and Ali Pasha, on the impulse of the moment, ordered him to be brought into his presence. "You must be Prince of Transylvania," he said, thinking no doubt that length of limb and strength of arm were the first requisites for the post. "I am only a butcher," said the Szekler, "and can neither read nor write, but if you want a prince of Transylvania I can tell you of one who has no equal, and I will be your guide if you wish to find him." A guard of

five hundred horse having been got in readiness, the peasant conducted them to the residence of Michael Apaffi, at Malmkrog, where their approach caused great fear and consternation. Michael had once been carried off by the Tartars, and his wife had nearly worked and starved the household to death while raising his ransom, and every one dreaded a similar calamity. But all ended well, the nobles confirming the appointment, and Michael Apaffi's long reign brought to Transylvania as large a measure of justice and peace as could be secured in those stormy times.

Maros Vásárhely has thus passed through some trying experiences, but, happily, its energies have not been exhausted by its disturbed and precarious career. Though also shorn of its dignity as the seat of the provincial government, it displays no signs of fallen greatness. The green cloth on the now deserted tables, round which highly placed officials formerly sat, looks rather the worse for wear, but the town itself seems young and hopeful, like the race with whose fortunes it is so closely allied. Instead of giving itself over to dejection and hopelessness like Modena or Ferrara, it is preparing for a fresh career of energetic enterprise. Taking advantage of its excellent position in the fertile valley of the Maros, it is fast becoming a busy commercial centre, and will doubtless grow rapidly as the mineral wealth around it is more and more utilized. At present it has about fifteen thousand inhabitants, who chiefly depend on the trade and professional requirements of the surrounding districts. The Wallacks are almost as conspicuous in its streets as the Szeklers, for the Hungarian, like the Celt, is not by nature a builder of cities. He prefers his secluded village home, and the invigorating air of the hills, to the bustle of the streets and the annoyances of business. It is during its frequent horse fairs that the Magyar element appears predominant in the town. Its great market place then presents such scenes as Rosa Bonheur might make a pilgrimage to see.

A Hungarian on these occasions, showing the paces of his steed, is a visible embodiment of the poetry of motion. Or a group of gipsies, such as I chanced to pass, disposing of a skilfully renovated hack to a Wallack peasant, might make an artist's fortune as a study of the grotesque.

The renowned library founded by Count Teleki, in 1795, brings scholars from far and near to this sequestered capital. It is rich in Greek and Latin classics, and in materials for the early political and ecclesiastical history of Hungary. Amongst its treasures is a M.S. Tacitus from the great palace library of Mathias Corvinus, which disappeared during the time when the Turks held possession of Buda. The destruction of this library was an irreparable loss, not merely to Hungary, but to the civilized world, for it contained the richest collection of Oriental works which then existed in Europe. A large number of copyists, highly skilled in penmanship, were constantly employed by King Mathias to seek out and transcribe the rarest and most valuable books to be found in all accessible countries. The Prayer Book used by this gifted sovereign is still to be seen in the museum at Pesth, and several other precious relics of the palmy days of Hungarian history have also escaped the storms of war and the hand of the destroyer. These are mostly preserved in the libraries of Buda-Pesth, and in those of Gran, Presburg, and St. Martinsberg. Especially in that last mentioned, which belongs to the Benedictine Monks of the *Mons Sacer Pannoniae*, there are sundry heirlooms which make true Hungarians feel that the place where they are deposited is holy ground. One of these is the original diploma granted to the Benedictine Order of King Stephen in 1,001. It is somewhat crabbedly written, in quaint patristic Latin, the signature of the royal saint being still quite decipherable. This venerable document brings us face to face with the final struggle against Paganism in the lands of the Danube, and the subsequent history of Hungary is a curious commentary on its con-

tents. As if through the irony of fate, that very people which so late and so reluctantly accepted the faith of Christ, was destined to shed its best blood through two calamitous centuries, in order to remove the Damocles' sword of Moslem fanaticism and tyranny from the Christian nations of Western Europe.

Maros Vásárhely has not only its famous library, but its Calvinistic and Catholic High Schools, to support its claims to be a centre of enlightenment. The more liberal faith is represented by a small band of influential citizens, whose chapel is well situated and comfortable, though of very modest dimensions. Here, as elsewhere throughout Transylvania, Unitarianism appears to flourish best in the villages, while in England it is most readily acclimatised in manufacturing towns, and in America in centres of culture. During my visit, Mr. Pálfi and Mr. Stephen Siás, two members of the legal profession, vied with each other in showing me the most polite attention and hospitality. The former took me round in his phaeton to all places of interest, and the latter invited his friends to meet me at a garden party and a supper which reflected the highest credit on Madame Biás' household supervision. To these friends, and the family who received me so generously at Erdö St. George, I have felt ever since under a real debt of gratitude. And I hope that my attempt to interest English readers in the chequered history and present prospects of the Szekler capital will convince them that their kindness was fully appreciated and will not be forgotten.

CHAPTER X.

THE WALLACKS.

MY route now lay down the valley of the Maros, and round by rail to Klausenburg. The rich alluvial lands in the basin of this beautiful river are for the most

part inhabited by Wallacks, and their villages are thickly planted on either bank. Most of these are only huddled groups of cottages built of wood, mud, or plaster, with heavily thatched roofs and dirty courtyards. The common saying that 'where the maize grows high there the men grow tall' does not hold good here. The contrast between the graceful manly bearing of the Magyar and the serf-like crouching aspect of the Wallack is striking in the extreme. When worn and weather-beaten the Wallacks have a sadly woe-begone appearance, and the old women closely resemble the typical witches in *Macbeth*. Perhaps nothing else could be expected of people who are required to fast two hundred and twenty six days in the year. Their agricultural implements, mills and other appliances are all of a primitive description. Even their language is an *omnium gatherum* based on Latin, so that in swearing by the devil they use the word *draco*, the dragon, which gives their oaths a painful air of unreality. So late as 1855, only a single periodical was published in Wallachian, throughout the Hungarian kingdom, although it contained a population of nearly two and a half millions belonging to this nationality. At the same date scarcely ten per cent of the Wallack children received any education in public or private schools. As yet they have no drama and very little that deserves the name of art.

The Wallacks are certainly neither an enlightened nor a prepossessing people, but they may justly plead that they have had a sore struggle for existence, and have been often more sinned against than sinning. They claim to be descended from the Roman colonists whom Trajan planted after his conquest of ancient Dacia, but their appearance and idiosyncrasy show signs of a far closer connection with the conquered than the conquering race. Their genealogical tree also bears traces of frequent ingrafting at a later date. Especially from the fifth to the ninth century, successive waves of population passed over Transylvania, and each of these must have left fresh

elements behind. In spite of their fearful sufferings during that period of turmoil and transition, they had partially recovered their independence at the time of the Magyar invasion. It is affirmed that a Wallack prince then ruled over Transylvania, but if so the country must, soon have fallen under the sovereignty of Arpad and his successors. During the next six centuries, the Transylvanian Wallacks were reduced to the condition of serfs, and seldom figure in history. In times of war they generally fled to the hills with their cattle and movables, leaving the Magyars and Szeklers to fight the enemy in the open field, and the Germans to defend the fortified towns and villages. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a number of them were enfranchised upon condition of doing military service, and the descendants of these have ever since enjoyed the same rights as the Magyar nobility. In 1848 the Wallacks were instigated by Austrian agents to rise against their former masters, and though the Government were taking steps for their release from serfdom and political inequality, they assembled in armed bands, and plundered, tortured, and massacred the Magyar inhabitants, wherever the country had been left defenceless. Others, it is only right to say, sided with the revolutionary movement, and even fought bravely under the national colours. Since their emancipation the Wallacks have made some praiseworthy efforts towards social advancement, but having served so long as the Caryatides of the social structure, they are weighed down by the stolid apathy and obtuseness which long subjection tends to produce. It is highly desirable that now when they have a fair field for enterprise and progress they should pride themselves less on their Roman descent, and more on the cultivation of the antique Roman virtues of industry, energy, and manly self-reliance. When they display these characteristics none will begrudge them their favourite name of Roumanians or Roumans. Nor will it be longer necessary for any of

them to wear a clumsy copy of Italian costume, and point triumphantly to this as a proof of their lineage. The Wallacks dress differently from the Magyars, the men ordinarily appearing in a rough linen blouse, with a rather elaborate vest over it, or merely a broad leather belt, decorated with brass spangles. From under their greasy felt hats, their lank black hair falls down to their shoulders, and as their boots are rough and clumsy they have from head to foot an exceedingly ill-conditioned appearance. The women, during summer, wear little else while at work than a long chemise fastened round the waist, but at church or on holidays, they figure in very picturesque attire. Over fancifully arranged garments of white linen, they hang a kind of open skirt of many-coloured fringes, and this, with their antique jewellery and turban-shaped head gear, gives them quite an Asiatic aspect. The Wallacks almost all belong to the Greek Church, which claims to have in Hungary about four million adherents. Of these rather more than a million and a half belong to the United Greek communion, a branch of the Oriental Church, which partly owes its existence to Maria Theresa. This politic sovereign for obvious reasons accorded certain privileges to its clergy and laity on condition of their recognising the supreme authority of the Pope. Apart from this distinction, the United sect has much the same organisation, ritual and doctrine as the mother church, and since the decline of Austrian influence, there has been a tendency to return to the parent fold.

While dining in the station restaurant, at Kocsárd, I tried to get some information first hand from a Wallack priest on the affairs of his church and the condition of the Roumanian nationality under the new *régime*. He seemed to understand my purpose, but as he knew only his mother tongue, the attempt at "interviewing" resulted merely in an interchange of friendly signs and symbols. He had an unusually jovial appearance for a priest of the Greek church, as if he had found out what Isaiah says about the

right kind of fasting, and perhaps he used his rosary less for numbering his prayers than for keeping count of the glasses of wine of which he disposed. Before leaving him I cast about for a suitable toast or sentiment, and tried *Der Weltbürgersinn*, but it evoked no response. Then by a happy thought, I proposed its Greek equivalent, *Der Cosmopolitismus*, and his features slowly lighted up like the rising moon. Then we clinked glasses, and rejoiced to feel the gulf between Eastern orthodoxy and Western heresy bridged over by the idea of a common citizenship of the world. At parting, my mysterious friend uttered a few ejaculations, which perhaps meant that he considered himself a genuine descendant of Romulus, and not one of the ancient Dacians risen from the dead. Or possibly it implied that as the Wallacks outnumber all the other inhabitants of Transylvania, they ought to be regarded as the Coming Race. Another incident occurred outside the station where, while reflecting that Byron's "Dying Gladiator" was a Dacian, and therefore an ancestor of the Wallacks, I suddenly came on a group of "young barbarians all at play," their "Dacian mother" working in a field hard by. I had some bread with me, (the dry remains, I believe, of that given me in the parsonage of Gagy), and this I slowly and solemnly divided amongst the little *sans culotte* circle. Apparently my gravity of manner and semi-clerical dress made them regard the proceeding as in some way connected with the administration of the Eucharist, which, in the Greek church, is extended to very young children. They ranged themselves in a row, with folded hands, and as each child received its portion, it "reverently consumed" it, and evidently expected something else to follow. It is needless to say that my resources were unequal to a celebration of the rite according to the Greek cultus, for this is a far more elaborate proceeding than in our Protestant churches. The elements are administered in both kinds, leavened bread only being used, and the wine is mixed with

warm water to denote the fervour of the saints. The communicants stand with their hands crossed on their breast, while the priest with a spoon puts some of the bread into their mouths, and a deacon follows to wipe their lips with one of the consecrated cloths. My little congregation at Kocsárd were, therefore, no doubt bewildered at my wide departure from the regular forms of the church. But as the Wallack priests, from lack of education, or over indulgence in liquor, occasionally conduct the services with the liturgy upside down, a little latitude is no doubt tolerated in these secluded strongholds of the Oriental faith.

I reached Klausenburg in time to be present at the opening of the Unitarian College, for the autumn term. The ceremony consisted of a short religious service, and two addresses, given by the Honorary President (Mr. Kövály) and the Principal (Professor Kovács). The former is a well-known writer on historical subjects, whose literary work always bears the stamp of a finely cultured and idealistic mind. The latter has found full scope for his organising power and practical aptitude in the responsible position which he holds; and his other appointments of English tutor in the University, and joint editor with Mr. Peterfi of the *Christian Seedsower*, show what varied lines of usefulness are open to the Hungarians who come to study under Dr. Martineau in London. A glance round the College Hall, which was filled with over three hundred youths and young men, showed what sound material the professional staff of this institution have to act upon. Most of the students come from the Szeklerland, where, as in Scotland, education acts require no compulsory clauses. Indeed the Magyar nationality has always regarded education as a sacred duty and the inseparable ally of religion, and often during the Middle Ages the Hungarian Catholic Church encouraged the love of mental independence and enlightenment. But the Protestant churches in Hungary have been in a far

more marked degree, the sworn foes of blind credulity and ignorance. The liberal education given in their gymnasia and colleges has ensured the Protestants the leadership in all progressive movements, and an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. At present they are estimated at fully three and a half millions, or nearly one fourth of the population, while the Catholics are about seven millions and a half. But the consistent and enlightened manner in which the Protestants have struggled for political and religious liberty, and their heroic opposition to Austrian craft and despotism, have made the Reformation Churches the chief basis on which the Hungary of to-day is being raised to new prosperity and power. Or at least the Protestants may fairly claim to have fostered a liberty-loving spirit, which has helped to preserve the political existence of the country, and secured its present status in Europe. This spirit has been the very essence and vital principle of the Unitarian Church above all others, and within its pale religious liberty and national and intellectual rights have been alike held sacred, and defended with fidelity and courage.

CHAPTER XI.

A POLITICAL PROPAGANDA.

ON the evening of Saturday, September 6th, I delivered a lecture on "The Policy of Gladstone and Beaconsfield in reference to the Eastern Question." This was arranged by the Klausenburg Society for the study of the English language and literature, Professor Kovács, the president of the Society, occupying the chair. The first portion of the lecture consisted of a brief sketch of the career and character of the two English statesmen, and a comparison of the leading aspects of their policy in relation to the late struggles in South-eastern Europe. The concluding part (of which I have been asked to give a *résumé*) dealt

more directly with the present position of Hungary and her attitude towards the emancipated peoples of the Lower Danube. On this part of the subject, which has at present fresh interest imparted to it by Mr. Gladstone's late uncomplimentary allusions to Austria-Hungary, I spoke as follows:—Having now placed before you an unbiassed account of British policy as affecting the lands of the Danube, I venture to offer some observations on the position of Hungary, and her attitude towards the South-Slavonic races. In doing this every Englishman of the Liberal school must feel he is treading on delicate ground. But those who have sympathised with your country in her misfortunes, and rejoiced over her deliverance may be allowed a word of candid criticism at such a time of change and perplexity as the present. Thirty years have passed since Hungary gave a most convincing proof of her baptism into the modern spirit. Her supreme effort to shake off the dynastic bonds and petrified institutions of the past was nobly sustained, even against the rude onslaught of two despotic empires, and she only succumbed when treachery accomplished what the dead weight of dense battalions failed to achieve. For seventeen calamitous years, she sat in silent mourning under the deadening absolutism of Austria, and then rising from the dust began to build up the fabric of a new and fairer commonwealth. The grand outline of your ancient constitution and the principles of the revolutionary era are blended together in this august structure. You have still as of old your four classes of society, ecclesiastics, nobles, citizens and peasants, but they are no longer divided as by a Chinese wall, from one another. Nor do you any longer relieve one class of all State burdens, and exclude another from all political privileges. You have practically adopted the maxim of Franklin, that all men are bound to do two things—to die and to pay taxes. You have also re-asserted your historical rights of self-government, and

opened a worthy career to the talents and patriotism of your countrymen. Your picturesque capital has become a great literary centre, and the light of knowledge is at last penetrating to your most secluded hamlets. Your army is well organised and equipped, and ready alike for defence or defiance. Your assured independence, improved commercial relations, increasing skill in agriculture, and means of communication, will bring about better days than even your golden age of Corvinus. Your country has thus the prospect of a happy and brilliant future, and her location makes her the natural meeting place of many nations, and the point of contact between Eastern and Western civilisation.

Hungary is thus being raised before our eyes to power and influence in Europe, and many are asking what use she will make of the position she has won. Will she be misled by the meteor of military glory, through following which the kingdoms of Christendom are becoming a series of entrenched camps? Will she display a spirit of retaliation for her past wrongs, and sow distrust among the Powers? Will she act generously towards her feebler neighbours who have need to learn from her the lessons of progress? I believe she will be faithful to her ancient spirit of justice and tolerance, and that her mission will not be perverted through indulgence in dreams of undue supremacy. But it is only right to add that of late the current of Hungarian sympathy has set in in an ominous direction. The Moslem power, which was formerly your direst antagonist, is now your chosen friend and ally. The startling appearance of Russia in the Balkan provinces, acting as the heaven-sent liberator of Bulgaria, has again raised the Panslavist spectre, which Kollar and Schaffarick conjured up a generation ago. Some imaginative minds have even pictured this apparition as appearing in the sky of Hungary like the angel with the drawn sword over Jerusalem. Without doubt the late events on the Danube have been of a kind to disturb your country's internal re-

pose, if not to endanger her external security. But is it not possible that your dislike of Russia, and your affection for Turkey, may both be needlessly intense? The Colossus of the North, enthroned amid the Arctic snows, with the Caucasus as its footstool, appears indeed, at first glance, the very ideal of barbaric aggressiveness and brute force. But in these latter days, mind is more powerful than matter, and Russia's unwieldy body is animated by only a dull and undeveloped soul. For this reason she has met with disaster in the field in nearly all her recent wars, and lately narrowly escaped the utter failure of her plans. You are aware that in 1849 she had even to strip St. Petersburg of her *corps d'élite* before she could make head against Bem and the Szeklers. At present her finest minds are silent or nobly suffering, her social life disquieted, her national sentiment embittered, her treasury empty, and her ruler cowering before an ubiquitous foe. In this melancholy plight her only way of salvation is to act on the shrewd expression of one of her statesmen after the Crimean war—*La Russie se recueille*. Apart from all this, the European powers are agreed that Russia must remain north of the Danube, and east of the Pruth. There is consequently but little present danger of the floodwaters of Panslavism overflowing any part of Hungary. For years to come the Slavs within your borders are not likely to be misled by Russia's most seductive promises, and if those in the principalities are content to do her bidding, they will soon discover that they have become martyrs to their own mistakes. Hungary may therefore await the future with calmness, and carry on the needful work of reconstruction in tranquillity and peace.

Some surprise has been lately felt amongst English Liberals by your warm sympathy for the Turks. Not a few have been bewildered by your championship of a lost cause, and your begrudging the Bulgarians their rescue from a falling Empire. Your sympathy is perhaps a

little too pronounced, but if so, it is a failing which leans to virtue's side. It shows your generous solicitude for a kindred race, and your gratitude for the protection afforded your patriots thirty years ago. But no one can travel through Hungary without wondering at your noble forgiveness of the wrongs inflicted upon her by the Turks in bygone days. The shattered towers of Wissegrad,—the Windsor of Hungary, and the crumbling palaces and vacant spaces in the sacred city of Gran,—the pride and delight of your forefathers, and many another ruin bristling up in impotent defiance on the Danube cliffs, told me as I passed that the armies of the Crescent had been there. Turkey has written her name in letters of fire on your cities and castles, but she has left you nothing besides. Your capital owes none of its magnificence to her, though a line of Pachas ruled in Buda for a century and a half. Again and again she left your land a wilderness reddened with Christian blood, and almost within living memory her army was raising earthworks in the valley of the Zsil, and threatening to overrun Transylvania. I have no wish to lessen your sympathy for the Turkish Empire, but it is well for you to face the fact that that Empire is doomed to perish. It cannot live without an intellectual revival, and its mingling of religion and politics runs counter to the universal laws which regulate the developement of states. Its government offers no inducements to popular progress, no arena for the cultivation of individual talent, no practical school for training magistrates and statesmen of integrity. On the battle-field the Turks are always irreproachable, but an empire cannot exist on the glory gained by the sword. And the downfall of the Turkish race in Europe, which began with the retreat from Vienna two hundred years ago, will continue as steadily as the ebbing of the tide till the last battalion crosses the Bosphorus, and the Sultan removes to Broussa or Bagdad.

It has been often said that when the Turkish Empire

crumbles to pieces, the Magyars will stand alone in Europe. But the unexampled opportunities of development which lie before your nationality, render it independent of extraneous help. You dwell, it is true, amongst alien races, and in numbers you are less than half the population of the Hungarian kingdom. But this numerical position cannot militate against your claims to supremacy, for it arises through your ancestors having been, during thirty generations, the warrior caste of Eastern Europe. The deplorable waste of Magyar blood, on a thousand battle-fields, has left you seven millions weak instead of seventeen millions strong. But the time has come for your deliverance from this ceaseless drain on your vital energy, and your hereditary valour and enthusiasm must find a worthier outlet than in the wild carnival of sanguinary strife. You must enter on the less dazzling field of conquest, whose weapons of warfare are the pen, the plough, and the appliances of industrial enterprise. With a rich and extensive territory stored with mineral wealth, and capable of maintaining thirty millions of people, you may speedily eclipse the grandest era of your country, when her shores were washed by the waters of three seas. For this, two conditions are indispensable, a patriotic faithfulness to your country's highest interests and a generous sympathy for the weaker races within your borders. The colonists from east and west, the crowds of refugees who fled from Mongol and Turkish tyranny, and the disintegrated fragments of ancient races have turned the provinces of Hungary into ethnological mosaics, which require to be delicately handled. These heterogeneous elements have often been lawless and ungenerous, but be assured that conciliation will effect far more than severity or compulsion. Liberty and equality are the true levellers, and any other policy, though temporarily successful, will entail a permanent defeat. And it is not your possession of the political, so much as of the intellectual leadership of Hungary—*das geistige Primat*—

which will make your nationality a centre of cohesion, round which these races will gather, to assist in fabricating the texture of a united society, formed by the natural process of pacific and progressive assimilation. The same principle will hold good also in reference to the newly-emancipated peoples beyond the Danube. The stormy heavings of a time of transition are still felt in these provinces, and whatever the results may be, you may best prepare yourselves for the changes that may come by showing sympathy for those who have long pleaded in pathetic tones for the precious gift of freedom, and thereby help the stream of civilisation to flow with a mightier and more fertilising power.

As yet the crude elements and contending forces at work in the Balkan Peninsula have not had time to coalesce into order and harmony, and patience, no less than sympathy, is needed from spectators of the struggle. Perhaps, also, for years to come, the forbearance and magnanimity of Hungary will be put to a searching test. Apart from your dread of Slav supremacy in the Illyrian provinces, the conduct of the Danubian populations has been scarcely worthy even of untrained competitors in the race of civilisation. They have shown more than enough of passion and prejudice to justify your mistrust of their future policy. It would, for example, be more becoming of Servia, were she less boastful over victories which her own right hand has not won. The Pan-Servian agitation is also but a poor return for the hospitality shown by your ancestors to the multitudes of exiles who sought shelter from the Turks within your borders. But Hungary is powerful enough to be able to smile at the delusive dream of restoring the empire of Stephen Dushan. And, similarly, she can afford to ignore the seductive scheme of the Croats, to resuscitate the mythical glories of their mediæval kingdom. Such spread-eagleism of the minor politicians of Belgrad, Agram, or Sophia, is to be met, not by material, but moral agencies. To cherish

ill-feeling on account of these petty national ambitions would be as needless as to invade Montenegro, because its Prince has set up a brougham and a billiard table. I am convinced that when the cross currents of popular feeling have spent their force, the attitude of Hungary towards these races will be one worthy of your characteristic generosity, and your noblest traditions. It may be an attitude of jealous watchfulness against the insidious advance of Muscovite power along your frontiers, but combined with this will be a benevolent neutrality towards the liberated subjects of the Porte. These ill-fated communities have been long alienated from Christendom, and excluded from all real partnership in European history; and your sympathies are too keen to stand aloof from them permanently in cold isolation or sullen opposition. At present their best course is to remain for a time under the pupilage of the Powers, to make roads through their pathless forests and uncultivated lands, and, above all, to learn to read and write. Whatever policy Austria may have in view, Hungary has nothing to gain by further annexation of the Turkish provinces. "Better govern the empire well than extend it" was the maxim of one of the wisest rulers of mankind. Especially you have no motive to repeat the achievement of your ancestor who rode up to the walls of Constantinople and struck his battle-axe into the Golden Gate. If a greater Hungary lie in the future, let it be formed by attraction, not by force. Your ancient Constitution has a wondrous adaptability for serving as the basis of a federative union of different races, and its wise provisions for provincial and municipal autonomy would render it of signal service in linking together the various races in South-Eastern Europe. Your laws and literature would further help them along the lines of national evolution, while allowing the genius of each people to unfold itself in fresh forms of culture and industry. And, believe me, the Liberalism of England would rejoice to find the Magyar nationality enlisted by

Divine Providence in so sublime a mission, as paving the way for a happy union of long divided peoples on one of the fields of ancient civilisation and military renown.

The lecture was followed by an animated discussion, which was valuable as a lesson in psychology as well as in international politics. Unanimity of opinion was scarcely to be expected in dealing with such hotly contested questions as those which had come under review. But my severest opponents expressed their criticism with true Hungarian courtesy, and gave me the credit of fishing delicately in troubled waters. Two professors of the Klausenburg University endeavoured to rectify my notions of the South Slavonic races, assuring me it would have been better for all concerned had they been left in their former obscurity and bucolic peace. Any petty principalities, they said, which might be founded on the ruins of the Turkish Empire, would be drifted away by the current of Russian conquest, and the last state of South-eastern Europe would be worse than the first. Against such an overwhelming dictum it was almost in vain to wrestle, but I stood up as staunchly as I could on behalf of these "poor relations" of the European family. I also asked my antagonists to reflect at their leisure on the probable condition of Transylvania had the Turks left it as they had left Bulgaria only eighteen months before. This seemed to have a slightly softening influence; but they were inexorable in maintaining that the Bulgarians, in spite of their recent liberation, would only have an ignoble history. At best they would become the Dutch of Eastern Europe: keen traders and plodding agriculturists, but unendurably materialistic and prosaic. After this debate the audience showed their appreciation of my well-meant political propaganda by unanimously electing me an honorary member of their Society. Then the inevitable supper followed, and my new friends so far forgot their severe and exclusive patriotism as to join me in drinking to "The Liberty and Fraternity of the Peoples."

The evening's experience gave me some interesting glimpses of the lights and shades of the Hungarian mind, and the political ideas with which it is so strongly impregnated. It showed how seriously the political outlook of the Magyars has of late been circumscribed and confused by the threatening clouds which [have gathered on the horizon of their country. At the same time, I learned that though their attitude towards the Balkan populations may appear unsympathetic and ungenerous, it by no means deserves unqualified condemnation. The whole situation is so exceedingly complicated by ethnological and historical considerations, that foreign critics rarely make due allowance for the various tendencies which shape the present policy of Hungary. The average English special correspondent could hardly be expected to unravel such a tangled web of conflicting motives and interests with any approach to precision. And even better informed writers like Dr. Humphrey Sandwith and Mr. Evans constantly forget what an ominous shadow has been cast over Hungary by the increased influence of Russia south of the Danube and the Save. Such critics might at least remember that there is nothing more natural for a State like Hungary, which has been nursed amid conflict and struggle, than to stand vigilantly on guard, and rely on its own strength. A nation which has been so long familiar with the din of battle can hardly be reproached for strongly developing the instinct of self-preservation; and the Hungarian people have, unfortunately, but too good reason to fear that their allies of to-day may become their enemies of to-morrow. They know that the advance of Austria to Salonica would seriously compromise the position of Hungary in the Dual Empire, and that the rise of Russian dependencies, south of the Danube, or the formation of a great Illyria, would endanger their southern frontier. These weighty considerations, and no mere unmitigated national jealousy, account in great measure for the impatience with

which Hungary has watched her neighbours preparing to scramble for the spoils of Turkey. And viewed in this light her State action and public feeling, which at first glance seem far from praiseworthy, are found to be the outcome of a sense of danger, if not of a painful necessity.

The troubled history of the Magyars has stamped its indelible impression on the character of this remarkable people. From beginning to end it resembles a solemn tragedy with the clangour of arms as its frequent accompaniment. Only a few writers have fully caught the subtle spirit of romance and pathos which gives to this history its characteristic tinge of melancholy splendour. But its thrilling scenes lie before the fervid imagination of the Hungarian patriot with a vividness unknown to the duller fancy of the West. It is to him the history of a chosen people, and the Spirit of the Universe is the *Magyarok Istene*—the God of the Magyars. He transforms Attila into a minister of justice, divinely commissioned to execute judgment on doomed and degenerate nations. He glories in the achievements of the Seven Hero Chiefs who guided his ancestors over the Scythian steppes and formed the "Social contract" which, like the laws of Sinai, changed a horde into a nation. The crown of St. Stephen is almost as sacred in his eyes as the ark of the covenant was to the Jews, and the Wallacks and Slavs seem aliens from the Commonwealth of the Magyar Israel like the Gibeonites or the children of Ammon. This involuntary national exaltation is so entirely the outcome of special conditions of race and history that it ought to awaken sympathy rather than to provoke an unkindly criticism. Even the bitterest foes of Hungary can call it by no harder name than patriotic fanaticism. In past times it often set the "cold and unimpassioned Austrian officials' teeth on edge, and led the flippant Viennese to make merry over Magyar enthusiasm as the wits of Tyre may have laughed at the indomitable striving and high pretensions of the Jews. But to more generous natures

this patriotic devotion is a touching memorial of ages when the Hungarian people had to bear all sacrifices and sufferings for their country's sake, or to disappear from the list of nations. And it recalls such a resplendent series of passionate struggles for freedom and independence that so well-justified a pride of nationality may readily be forgiven.

A glance at Hungarian history shows by what supreme efforts the Magyar State has maintained its place in Europe as a distinct political organism. Indeed this people has passed through almost every dangerous crisis to which a nation can be exposed without being absorbed in the dominant elements around it. They had first to encounter the perils of transition from a nomadic to an agricultural life, which proved fatal to the Goth and Vandals, the Avars and the Golden Horde. Then for centuries they had to build up the fabric of social order with one hand, while constantly holding the sword with the other. Through great part of this period they had to exhaust themselves in conflict with the rude and stubborn masses that successively invaded their soil, and then to bear back the persistent onset of disciplined and powerful assailants on either flank. They repeatedly saw the results of a generation's industry swept out of existence by the devastations of pitiless foes. Hungary had no Renaissance, and the Reformation found her sitting in what seemed the twilight of her glory, weeping for her slaughtered King and nobles. While the revival of learning spread like a fresh dawn over Christendom, her plains were illuminated only by the conflagration of her towns and villages, and the flashing of Turkish scimitars. Her sons had with reckless valour constituted themselves the champions of the Cross against the Crescent, and in heading this desperate crusade they had to block the road to Western Europe with heaps of Hungarian dead. And it was only the integrity of such heroes as Hunyady and his chivalry that prevented the fulfil-

ment of the Sultan's vow to feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the high altar of St. Peter's in Rome. The subsequent history of the Magyars is one protracted and weary effort to guard against their denationalisation by Austria, but neither fraud nor force nor the more dangerous weapons of flattery and hypocritical favour have succeeded in effacing their national traits or their political autonomy.

With such a history behind her, Hungary can hardly be asked to sacrifice her national security for the half-civilised races that were ready to strike her a coward's blow while engaged in her deadly struggle with Austria and Russia. Nor can she be expected all at once to quench her militant spirit, and cultivate the softer gifts and graces. What her future may be, it is impossible to predict, but the frequent prophecies of her impending downfall are clearly seen to be misleading when read in the sober light of history.

Mr. Evans, for instance, alludes somewhat slightly to the Hungarian saying, "We will either govern an empire or fall to the ground." He adds, "the Magyar will fall to the ground, but he will fall like a knight of old on horseback with waving plume, and coat of arms, with lance a-tilt, and gauntlet flung defiantly into the arena of the nations, trampling to the last on serf and alien, erect and masterful and cruel to the end. Alas! for that tyrannic chivalry, the nineteenth century fights with weapons of precision which shield and armour cannot withstand. Alas! for with all their oppression of their subject races, among themselves, in what concerns their Magyar kin, within the close ranks of their aristocratic caste, they are the only people of Eastern Europe whose love of constitutional freedom is genuine, and whose press is really free." (*Fortnightly Review*, April, 1880.) Few Englishmen possess so accurate a knowledge of the Danubian countries as this able and vigorous writer, but like most champions of the Illyrian races he treats the Magyars with scant

courtesy, and scarcely gives them their due. Besides, his confident prediction of an impending Magyar downfall is only the Slavonic *Regula Fidei*, expressed in cultured form. It almost appears as if his imagination were more familiar with the lavish splendor-loving mediæval kingdom of Louis or Sigismund, than with the less ostentatious and more prosaic Hungary of to-day. There is, in fact, extremely little likelihood of such a prophecy receiving an early or abrupt fulfilment. The Magyar State has amply proved its tenacious life and power of self-maintenance by a sufficiently protracted experiment. Its Diet has assembled for 986 years, and is thus one of the oldest legislative assemblies in Europe. During this long period Hungary has developed a distinct national spirit, which finds a clear expression in the sympathies and convictions of her people, and the statutes and edicts of her legislators. This has survived all the depression and suffering caused by rulers who wielded the sceptre of St. Stephen like a marshal's baton, or a schoolmaster's ferule. It bade defiance to the blandishments of Maria Theresa, the doctrinaire schemes of Joseph II., and the deadening absolutism of Metternich. And though the Magyars have been lamentably delayed in the path of progress by defective government and the pride and turbulence of their nobility, they bear to-day no trace of physical decline or of intellectual degeneracy, and never before were they less disposed to resign themselves to political death. And now, when Hungary's liberation is complete, and her fervid patriotism revived, her future may surely be expected to transcend the days of her travail, and her strength sufficient to guard her against the open attacks and secret intrigues of her enemies beyond or within her borders.

CHAPTER XII.

AN INTERNATIONAL SERMON.

KLAUSENBURG and its citizens delighted me all the more the longer I knew them. At first glance, the Transylvanian capital seems to have no very marked characteristics and its new appearance is a little disappointing to lovers of the antique. Its citadel is in ruins, its walls reduced to fragments, and of its belt of circular towers, only one or two remain. But hidden away behind the modern exterior of its central square, and wide rectangular streets, there is an abundance of ancient memorials, and many scenes of deep historical interest. Its primitive Dacian builders have left few vestiges of their handiwork, and few records of their achievements or their faith. Their last king, after courageously matching himself against the Roman legions, seems to have been slain while defending the passage of the Szamos, and the city of Claudiopolis took the place of the Dacian settlement. The fine collection of Roman antiquities in the Klausenburg Museum bears testimony to the magnitude and wealth which this attained, but few of its buildings weathered the storms of the *Völkerwanderung*, and remained intact at the time of the German immigration. But, doubtless, the keen glance of these enterprising colonists detected the natural advantages of the site, for one of their seven great Transylvanian strongholds arose over the ruins of the Roman city. The new Klausenberg became, however, not a mere fortress, but a centre of industry and commerce. The products of India and the Levant found their way in abundance within the shelter of its walls and under the name of Kincses Koloszar—wealthy Klausenburg, it was soon famed far and wide in mediæval song and story. Its great Gothic church of St. Michael, a stately building, though rather severe in style, was founded in 1401, by King Sigismund, and the city not long after acquired fresh lustre as the birth place of Matthias Corvinus. By

the time of the Reformation its German inhabitants had dwindled down in numbers through valorous service in many a seige and battle, and a numerous Hungarian population had settled in the city, chiefly in and near the Magyar Street, where the Unitarian buildings now stand. And after the stirring scene, when Francis David preached from a great boulder in the Market place, and was carried in triumph into the church of St. Michael, of which the Unitarians took permanent possession, the Germans, who were rigid Lutherans, deserted the houses their forefathers had built, and the ramparts they had so long defended, and fled as from a plague-stricken city. This exodus appears to have been very complete, or else the Unitarians carried matters with a high hand, for till 1638, they alone were eligible for the representative municipal body of one hundred members, or for any of the higher civil offices. This ascendancy, whether of numbers or influence, has however long passed away, for while at present there is in Klausenburg only one Unitarian congregation, the Roman Catholics have five, the Calvinists two, the Greek church two, and the Lutherans one. But happily most of these are fairly imbued with the unity of the spirit, and fraternal feeling is so prevalent that one of the Calvinist clergymen was among the first to pay me a visit of welcome after my arrival, while a Lutheran pastor voluntarily tendered most valuable help in translating some of my addresses into Hungarian.

Klausenburg, though an important station on one of the great highways to the East, shows no very distinct signs of becoming an industrial or commercial centre. Its citizens are far more jealous of its reputation as a seat of intellectual life, and are proud of its name and fame as the "Athens of Transylvania." Its new University was therefore the best compensation for the loss of its barren honour as a capital, and the professorial staff of the new institution, together with that of the Unitarian College, forms an important element of its cultured society.

The Oriental beauty of the climate and the absence of stir or traffic in its streets, make Klausenburg a charming place for study, or for resting after the fatigue of travel. It has, in fact, the indescribable charm of a city "in which it seemeth always afternoon." Viewed from the ancient citadel, or the neighbouring hills, its spires and cupolas shimmer in the summer heat like the airy creations of the Fata Morgana. Its streets and open places are pictures of drowsy felicity, and nothing seems in haste but the rapid Szamos, hurrying northward to mingle its waters with the Theiss. Picturesque groups of Hungarians lounge in and out of the hotels, discussing the latest phase of the Eastern Question, while here and there a Wallach dozes on the pavement, with a water-melon for a pillow, if nothing better be at hand. Even the central Post-office closes for a couple of hours in the middle of the day, that the officials may enjoy their siesta undisturbed. Generally a little more animation is noticable in the gipsy quarter, which occupies one of the slopes of the Castle hill. There ragged musicians sit at their cottage doors, bending lovingly over their instruments, and playing out of pure delight in their art. Often they give the reins to their creative fancy and weave the subtle fabric as they proceed, the movement becoming more and more rapid till the volume of sound flows with the swiftness and sparkle of a cataract. There, also, the wildest excitement may be witnessed over the arrival of part of an ox or cow which has defied the skill of the veterinary surgeon, it being believed by these children of nature that animals which have "died by the visitation of God" are infinitely preferable to those slaughtered by the capricious violence of man. But such primitive notions and fitful displays of feeling are exceptional in the general life of the miniature capital, and, on the whole, its twenty-eight thousand inhabitants bear the burdens of life calmly, as if assured that Transylvania, like an indulgent mother, has enough and to spare for all her children.

During my stay in the city I had the pleasure of supplying a missing link in the relations between the Liberal Churches of England and Hungary. Although the representatives of these had been in friendly connection since 1821, no English minister had preached for any of the Transylvanian congregations, and it seemed high time that this should be done, as Hungarians have occasionally officiated in this country. To do away with this anomaly, and to inaugurate an international exchange of pulpits, it had been previously arranged that I should preach, in German, in the Metropolitan Church of the Unitarians in Klausenburg. This building, though completed so recently as 1796, has many interesting and touching associations. It was erected, like the second temple of Jerusalem, after a kind of Babylonian Captivity, in which the liberal faith was left homeless in many parts of Hungary. The long reign of terror which commenced with the union of the principality to the Empire in 1691, culminated in 1716 with the expulsion of the Klausenburg Unitarians, *manu militari*, from the old city church of St. Michael, which they had used for a century and a half. This display of insolent aggression was all the more unwarranted as the Unitarians had, at immense cost, restored the church and adjoining buildings, after the great fire of 1697. And it is a noteworthy fact, which illustrates the ecclesiastical relations of the time, that the Remonstrants and Collegiants of the Netherlands sent them about fourteen hundred pounds in furtherance of this undertaking. No fewer than eighty years passed before a building worthy to take the place of St. Michael's could be raised and dedicated. The generation that had been driven from their sanctuaries by the clash of arms had thus to "die in faith, not having received the promises." But the religious services and the education of the young, though sometimes interrupted, were rarely abandoned. And the Toleration Act of Joseph II., the one permanent

and beneficial result of that Emperor's multifarious schemes of legislation, helped to put an end to this period of insecurity and anxious vigilance. And it must have been a proud and happy day for Stephen Lázár, the Unitarian Bishop of the time, when he and his people found themselves at last beneath the sheltering roof of so imposing a structure. The church thus raised has ever since formed the centre of the ecclesiastical life of the Transylvanian Unitarians. Its style is chiefly Byzantine, and as I have a slight prejudice against this form of architecture, I borrow Mr. Gordon's description, as more likely to be impartial: "It is perfectly free from ornament, except some little carving about the pulpit, but its lofty height and noble proportions invest it with a fitting greatness. I know no Unitarian church in which the sense of space is so grandly given; and the pure white tint, which reigns everywhere, adds to the impression of majestic simplicity. Before its aisles were intercepted by dividing walls for acoustic purposes, its symmetry must have been to some extent more gracefully complete, but as it stands, and with all my love for the Gothic style, it struck me as a more impressive building than the antique church in the centre of the town from which the Unitarians were ejected."

The authorities of the church were evidently desirous of having the service, which I was about to conduct, invested with as much pomp and circumstance as their short and simple ritual allowed. A most efficient choir gave their assistance, and the music was far more elaborate and in every way superior to that usually heard in the Protestant churches of Hungary. Bishop Ferencz having called on me before service and kindly offered me the use of his pulpit robe, I accepted it in the hope that it would exert an influence similar to Elijah's mantle. On entering the church, I found that the citizens of Klausenburg, though bearing a doubtful reputation for church attendance, had mustered about four hundred strong. All phases

of faith, from Pantheism to Greek Orthodoxy, must have been represented, for the "Transylvanian Athens," like its antique prototype, has a decided leaning towards religious tolerance. Formal changes of creed are rare among its inhabitants, but they tacitly admit that their city has reached the "drift period" of theological belief. And perhaps the prevailing sentiment among my hearers might have found correct expression in the saying of an old Hungarian Warrior of Duke Geysa's days. This veteran when asked to renounce his ancestral faith and embrace Christianity, devised a happy compromise between the conservative and progressive spirit. He said there was no occasion for such a sweeping change, as he could perfectly well afford to serve the new gods while believing firmly in the old.

My sermon was based on Rev. iii. 11., "Hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown." From this I sought to illustrate the value and sacredness of the religious rights and privileges which have descended as a sacred heirloom to the liberal Protestants of Hungary. On leaving the pulpit I returned to my rooms with some misgivings whether the majority of my hearers had been able to follow the line of thought. But I was speedily relieved of my doubts by the appearance of a deputation of some fifteen gentlemen headed by the Bishop, who came, as they said, to thank me for the fresh thought and stimulus afforded by my sermon, and for my appreciation of the unflinching fidelity of their ancestors to their religious and national rights. The Bishop alluded very feelingly to the isolation in which their Church had so long stood, exposed to constant violations of divine and human law. But these evil days were over, and the Unitarianism of Hungary had gradually come into closer union with the Liberalism of other lands. He might say it had that morning taken a new departure, and forged another link in the chain of its international relations. He concluded by assuring me that I had inscribed my

name in the history of their church, and gained a lasting place in their hearts and memories.

It is seldom that Hungarians treat their guests to compliments or congratulations, without arranging for something more substantial to follow. I was not therefore much surprised when the Bishop closed his remarks by stating that it had been arranged to entertain me at dinner in the afternoon. This was the last festivity of a public nature at which I was present in Transylvania, and it was likewise the most enjoyable. The dinner was served in a summer pavilion, near the Promenade, the long table being tastefully decorated with fruit and flowers. In some more secluded districts of Hungary there are time-honoured customs to which a guest in my position must solemnly adhere. For instance the Jazygs in Upper Hungary carefully preserve the ivory drinking-horn of Lehel, the son of a companion of Duke Arpad, who reigned about the time of our Alfred the Great. When any specially welcome visitor is entertained in Jazygia this relic is filled with wine, and handed to him to be emptied in a single breath. This must be a physical feat of some difficulty, for the horn is large enough to have been used by Lehel, much as Samson used the jaw bone of an ass. At the battle of Merseburg, when wounded and disarmed, he struck down the leader of the Germans with it, and it may be imagined that when filled with Tokay it might still have a prostrating effect. Fortunately no such ordeal had to be encountered by me in Klausenburg, but on the contrary, I had the pleasure of listening while my friends exhausted the language of compliment on the country and the nation to which I belonged. Bishop Ferencz proposed my health in one of his inimitable speeches, which make him always *primus inter pares* at the social board, as well as at the council table.

A telegram expressive of kind wishes and fraternal feeling was forwarded by the company to Deva, in the far south-west of Transylvania, where Francis David died and

was buried. There a celebration was in progress which points to the near approach of a time when the churches of Hungary will work together, without hesitation or distrust, like contingents of the same army, for the defence of religious truth, and the advancement of Christian civilisation. Through the kindness of the Rev. Alexander Szocs, the pastor of the Calvinistic church, a memorial service was conducted by Mr. Peterfi, one of the ministers of the church in which I had officiated. This was attended, like that in Klausenburg, by people of widely different religious views, who had come to do honour to the great Reformer. The excellent arrangements which contributed so much to the success of this commemoration, and the festivity which followed it, were chiefly due to Mr. Joseph Sandor, who had been a delegate at the Synod.

My friend Mr. Gordon, who had made a long detour by Csik Serada and Kronstadt, had found his way, in the true spirit of a pilgrim, to the sequestered little town, and was present at this impressive gathering. And for him and all others who were familiar with the religious history of Transylvania the occasion must have been invested with a deep significance. The service and the scene around must have led them to contrast the bitter strife and perfidious intrigues which hastened the aged Reformer's death, with the broader tolerance and charity of present times. The three centuries that had intervened had woven softer and finer elements into the national life of Hungary. The land had ceased to be the theatre of ambitious schemes of powerful magnates who lived on the sweat of the people's brows. A patriotic struggle, shoulder to shoulder, against many a fatal combination of enemies and hostile influences, had softened down religious differences and banished the fanaticism of sects. And now after ten generations had sustained this conflict, it had become possible for a Unitarian preacher to reiterate, in the pulpit of a Calvinistic church,

beneath the shadow of the castled hill of Deva, the very doctrines which Francis David had proclaimed, and for which he suffered a lingering and solitary martyrdom. Such a ceremony must have seemed like a formal enrolment of the Unitarian prophet amongst the national saints and spiritual leaders of Hungary. And it may be predicted that many will hereafter climb the wooded cliff above the Maros, and scrutinise with solemn interest the fragments of the dungeon walls within which the martyr was confined. Perhaps also those who can learn the deeper lessons of such a pilgrimage will look on these scanty remains as on the faded lines of some time-worn record of spiritual tyranny, on which the futile maledictions of past persecuting ages can only be faintly traced. Many will doubtless regret that the exact spot where the Reformer's ashes rest is no longer known. But though it may be said of him as of the emancipator of ancient Israel, that "no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day" it matters little though his grave be lost. So long as the truth and moral freedom for which he contended are spreading over Hungary, his memory will not perish. His faithful guardianship of the inalienable rights of humanity in a wild and tumultuous epoch will prove a better monument than the most sumptuous mausoleum. As the defender of a cause which time has proved invincible, he has taken his place in the line of human leaders who have made no compromise with despotism or falsehood, and in this way has confirmed the ancient saying, that "God's holy ones cannot see corruption."

That same Sunday evening the life-work of Bishop Kriza, one of Francis David's worthiest successors, was brought vividly before me. About two miles from Klausenburg, on a sunny slope running down to a deep ravine, lies a group of vineyards known as the Békas. One of these, containing a small summer-house, was a favourite resort of the late Bishop, and to this Professor Kovács

and I drove out after the public dinner was over. There amongst the trellised vines, amid peaceful surroundings that fitly symbolised his character, I heard the story of the life of this true saint, whose career was one long striving for the progressive elevation of his country and his church. Few men have had a more difficult or delicate work to perform than that which fell to Kriza, from the time he was raised to the episcopal chair in 1861, down to his death about six years ago. His predecessors had been devoted and eloquent champions of the Liberal faith, and had ably pleaded and toiled for it in the face of bigotry and despotism. They had welded together its broken organisation, rebuilt its churches, and secured its ancient rights. But the finer ideal elements, without which no church can fulfil its mission, had been insufficiently nurtured in the atmosphere of strife and debate raised by the ecclesiastical and political struggles of earlier days. And few were better fitted to supply this want than Kriza, and to save the Liberal Church from becoming a mere elaborate mechanism, out of which the soul had gone. Through all the stormy period in which he lived, when the mind of the nation was turned more on political than spiritual freedom, he never ceased to work for the higher emancipation of his people and the cultivation of their nobler capacities. His public ministrations had not perhaps the glow and fervour of those of his successor, but they always had the persuasive influence of tenderness and truth. And not merely as a preacher, but as a poet and philanthropist, his activity was the natural outcome of his intensely religious spirit, and on this account has borne abundant fruit. And far into the future, the memory of his gifted personality, with its rare blending of gentleness and heroism and of administrative skill, with poetic feeling, will remain as an inspiration to his countrymen, and especially to the Szekler people, whose songs and traditions were the favourite study of his leisure hours.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PARTING GUEST.

BEFORE my departure the Divinity students, about twenty in number, waited on me to express their thanks for the spirit in which I had carried out my mission, and the efforts I had made to promote a fraternal feeling between the Liberal churches of the continent. In my reply I congratulated them on their church being free from the barren speculative controversies now so rife in Western Europe, and warned them against the evils attendant on a sharp division into advanced and conservative schools. I urged that diversity of belief within and without the pale of their church, should be forgotten in unanimity of Christian sentiment, and that the effacement of sectarian divisions throughout Hungary would most speedily be brought about by the influence of fraternal sympathy and genial intercourse—*durch gute Kameradschaft*.

My kind friend Bishop Ferencz also paid me a farewell visit, and in the name of the leading members of the Ecclesiastical Council and the Klausenburg church, presented me with a handsome gift in money as a proof of their appreciation of my services, and of their desire to relieve me of the incidental expenses of my journey. Seeing that during my stay in Hungary I had not slept a single night in an hotel, and that in my tour through the Szeklerland I had even been franked along the railway and sent across country in the carriages of my friends, it may be imagined that I felt scarcely deserving of such liberality and kindness. So, in thanking the Bishop I could say little more than that the sum he had handed me would be carefully expended for books which would aid me further in writing and speaking on the various aspects of Liberal Protestantism in European countries, and that I should dignify the volumes thus obtained with the title of my Klausenburg collection. A few hours later I left the charming provincial capital, where so many un-

expected expressions of consideration had been conveyed to me in such delicate ways, and returned in company with Mr. Varga to Buda-Pesth. One of the last and most touching of my Transylvanian experiences was the appearance of the kind face of the Rev. Joseph Derzi at the carriage door, as the train was about to start, with a capacious bottle of an excellent vintage, which he seemed to think was absolutely necessary to prevent unpleasant impressions of Hungary stealing over me while crossing the Great Plain. During the long journey westward, I felt how true it is that the Hungarians possess the happy art of sending their guests away lamenting that 'their visit cannot be prolonged. Certainly they, above all other people, have been gifted with a special genius for hospitality. From the days of Attila, when the deputies from the Imperial court in Constantinople were feasted in the primitive encampment of the Huns, down to present times, they have never lost the secret of tempering down the splendour and lavishness of their hospitality with a marvellous degree of refinement and tact. There is scarcely any occasion, either grave or gay, on which the Magyar does not feel himself impelled to kill the fatted calf and institute a feast. As may be imagined, Hungarian history is rich in descriptions of banquets, some of them held under most singular circumstances. For example, after John Sobieski had relieved Vienna, he was entreated by a Hungarian lady to oust the Turks from her castle and domain. This he accomplished, but only after a day's hard fighting, during which the castle was burnt and almost battered to the ground. Nevertheless its fair owner contrived to get up a festivity in the evening, and gracefully entertained Sobieski and his officers amidst the still smouldering ruins of her ancestral hall. A remarkable document was discovered recently amongst the archives of Hanover which very graphically shows the style of princely hospitality in Hungary in the early part of the seventeenth century. This is an account of the

festivities connected with the marriage of Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, to the Princess Catherine of Brandenburg. The narrator, who was a German belonging to the bride's escort, draws such a picture of the roads of the period as makes one wonder how the finery intended for the ceremonies could have been transported in passable condition. But at Kaschau, where the wedding took place, all was like a series of scenes from the *Arabian Nights*. There Prince Bethlen met his bride amid a tempest of martial music and with 10,000 soldiers drawn up round three gorgeous tents, where the first receptions were held. The state carriage of the royal couple had pillars of solid silver and gold, a covering of the richest sammet, and was drawn by six magnificent Arabian horses. All else was in keeping, and for seven days after the wedding, there was one continual round of banquets, dances, torch-light processions and amusements, which must have taxed the ingenuity of a whole army of court officials, and even tried the strength and patience of the spectators. At last the end came, and the naive remark with which the sketch closes shows that the Germans had utilised the festive occasion, not wisely but too well. "Our parting was a melancholy one," says the writer, "we set out with much difficulty, and the greater number of us ill."

Fortunately the humbler festivities which cheered my journey through Hungary had produced no such detrimental effect, and I entered Buda-Pesth on a lovely autumn morning, improved in health and spirits by the climate and good cheer of the country. During my stay in the capital I was the guest of the Hon. Albert Bedő, Councillor of the Government Forest Board, and a writer of European reputation on Forestry. Seldom has the coveted Order of the Iron Crown been more worthily bestowed than on this gentleman, to whose untiring industry is due, in great measure, the careful surveys and exact statistics of the vast public forests of the Hungarian kingdom. I also paid a short visit to the distinguished

historian, the Hon. Alexis Jakab, Keeper of the Hungarian Archives. A closer acquaintance with Pesth confirmed all I had heard of the beauty of the city and its surroundings. Considering what it suffered during the 145 calamitous years of Turkish rule, and that so recently as 1686 the Duke of Lorraine and the Margrave of Baden replaced the Crescent by the Cross, its present size and splendour is astonishing. With over 330,000 inhabitants, and with its vast educational and literary institutions, its increasing commerce, its splendid public buildings and hotels, and its magnificent position on both banks of the Danube, it is rapidly becoming what Venice and Vienna formerly were, the meeting place between East and West, between Oriental and European civilization. Like Edinburgh, it affords a remarkable contrast of venerable antiquity and mediæval picturesqueness on the one hand with modern elegance and energetic enterprise on the other. Few can enjoy the unsurpassed prospect from the citadel of Buda, with the Danube like a broad band of silver dividing the fortress-palace and quaint streets of the ancient capital from the stately terraces and broad esplanades of Pesth, without inwardly indulging in the prophesy that here one of the great cities of the future has been founded.

The people of Hungary feel a pardonable pride in their magnificent capital, and have lavished millions on its adornment, and are now discussing projects for its defence. The fine statues of eminent Hungarians that have been raised in its open places show the prevailing enthusiasm of the Magyars for their nationality and its leaders. The literary and political life of the city is also so active and intense as to convince any one acquainted with it that the day is yet distant when Hungary can justly be spoken of as "The Sick Man on the Danube." The schemes of education which are discussed in its higher social circles are such as contrast favourably with the timid views of public instruction which are still prevalent in England. To me it appeared that the least satisfactory aspect of

Buda-Pesth society is the condition of its religious life. The authorities are carefully restoring some of its principal churches, but it is a common remark that outward renovation must be accompanied by an advance in doctrine and enlightenment in order to meet the needs of the time. And this feeling has led several men of learning and high position to aid in founding a Unitarian church in the capital, on a broad and comprehensive basis, as a converging point round which those may gather who have become imbued with the modern spirit, while still retaining their stability of faith.

Leaving Buda-Pesth, I travelled by rail to Vienna, from which, after a couple of enjoyable days in its galleries and museums, I took a circuitous route through Moravia and Bohemia, visiting Brünn and Prague, and getting such glimpses as my time permitted, of the principal scenes of the Hussite wars. Few places have ever interested me, more than Prague. Looking down upon it from the lofty cathedral tower, I felt how forcibly the city illustrates the wild and passionate history of the Czech nationality. The masses of its fantastic architecture rising and falling over its broken site, the picturesque bridge over the Moldau, its defiant towers and palaces rising tier over tier on the encircling hills, and the glorious fragment of its cathedral—all appeared like records in stone of the indomitable striving and stubborn fanaticism of a daring and intractable people. The proletariat of the city also looked closely akin to the fierce bands that garrisoned Tabor, and the Calixtines who relentlessly joined in the slaughter of Böhmisch Brod. It is to be regretted that the German language is being rapidly superseded in Prague by the semi-barbaric Czech, even the educated classes now expressing themselves *in vulgari Bohemico*, as a protest against Germanising tendencies, and in order to assert the shadowy pretensions of the mediæval kingdom of St. Wenzel. Passing on into Germany through the charming scenery of "Saxon Switzerland," I visited Dresden,

and restored my over-taxed energies by a long interview with the matchless Sistine Madonna of Raphael. From there I went on a hasty pilgrimage to the home and grave of Luther at Wittenberg, and then travelling by Magdeburg, Paderborn, and Crefield, I reached Cambridge about the end of September.

I close these sketches with the earnest wish that the future of Hungary will fully atone for her past wrongs. Through her eventful and troubled history, her horizon has been seldom clear of ominous clouds, and her gleams of sunshine have been broken by sudden storms. The progress of her gifted people has been checked, and their fruitful land reduced to poverty, while her literature has been the voice of stifled patriotism, or the plaint of hope deferred. At last she rejoices in her long lost liberty, and her fate is in her own hand. And it will be well if she recognise that her most urgent needs are a higher intellectual and moral life for millions of her people, and along with this, their deliverance from superstition, and the effacement of race antipathies. In dealing with this last difficulty, let her imitate the conquerer of Chotim, who ploughed over the great battle field, and not only obliterated the traces of war, but clothed the land with fresh verdure and beauty. Let her secure the consolidarity of her people by burying past jealousies and strife, by enlightened internal reforms, by generous concessions, and by fostering an unselfish patriotic enthusiasm. This alone can merge her mixed population in a strong and united nationality, and ward off internal dissensions, and be her best bulwark against the aggressive policy still pursued in the lands beyond her eastern border.

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REPORT

OF

A VISIT TO HUNGARY

BY THE

REV. HENRY IERSON, M.A.,

SECRETARY OF THE

BRITISH AND FOREIGN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION

PRESENTED TO THE COUNCIL AT THE MEETING OF

JANUARY 28TH, 1891.

LONDON :

BRITISH AND FOREIGN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,

ESSEX HALL, ESSEX STREET, STRAND.

Report of a Visit to Hungary.

WHEN I met the Executive Committee two days after my return from Transylvania, I had the pleasure of reporting to them the fresh recollections and impressions of a most agreeable and instructive visit, and I was requested to present to this meeting of the Council the substance of what I had then to say. I have not attempted, therefore, to tell the story of my visit in any public form until it had been received by the present assembly. The Committee felt that it was due to the interest shown by the Council in the mission on which I had been sent, that this Report should first be given to you here to-day.

To those who are at all familiar with the history of the Hungarian people, and who have observed the marvellous development of the country within the last twenty or thirty years in everything that pertains to civilization and progress, a visit to Hungary, however brief, could not be otherwise than deeply interesting; but the story of such visits has been so ably told by those who have made them, that it can hardly be necessary for me to relate mere incidents of travel, or to attempt the delineation of foreign

manners and habits of life, or, indeed, to speak of anything outside the immediate object of my going.

After a long but persistent struggle with difficulties, the Unitarian congregation at Budapest, which had been for some years a *filia ecclesia* supplied from Kolozsvár, was placed, in 1881, under the ministry of the Rev. Charles Derzsi, one of our Manchester New College students. It has now a church of its own, the opening of which was fixed for the 26th of October of last year. As the Association was largely interested in this happy issue of much self-denying effort on the part of our Hungarian brethren, having contributed year by year, together with the American Association, to enable Mr. Derzsi to carry on his eminently useful and important work in the Hungarian capital, it was every way fitting that the Committee and Council should be represented on the occasion, and Bishop Ferencz urgently pressed, in a letter which was read to the Committee at their meeting of October 8th, that a representative might be sent to take part in the proceedings. The Bishop remembered that our first representative who was sent to Transylvania thirty-two years ago was the Rev. Edward Tagart, Secretary of the Association, and it was, he said, their particular wish that the present Secretary should be appointed to this duty.

What gave special importance to the occasion was this, that although in Transylvania, on the further confines of Hungary, there had been for more than three centuries a large number of Unitarian congregations, the church in Budapest was the first that had been built in Hungary proper. Many congregations of the Unitarian faith had

formerly subsisted there, but of these few traces remain, beyond the traditional remembrance of the disinheritings and persecution which had for generations suppressed and at length extinguished the churches that once gloried in the Unitarian belief. It was a bold step to take, this movement towards the recovery of ground so long lost, this noble endeavour to establish the profession of Unitarian principles in a commanding position, challenging the national attention to their truth and value.

It was especially in view of these circumstances that Bishop Ferencz, who is designated in the official acts of the Government "Bishop of the Unitarian Churches in Hungary," wished to have at the formal dedication of the Budapest church the presence and support of those distant friends who had for now some years taken an interest in their prosperity, well knowing that this token of the fellowship of the Hungarian churches with the far larger communion of English-speaking brethren in America and Great Britain would not be without its influence upon their own people.

The Committee willingly responded to the invitation given by the Bishop, and I was requested to go. The time was short ; but I could not decline this honourable commission, which was afterwards confirmed by the Council. The Council will be gratified to know that their resolution of congratulation on the opening of the new church, endorsing the Committee's appointment of a representative of the Association to assist on the occasion, was gratefully received by the Bishop and the congregation, and added much to the interest of the ceremonial.

I left home in the early morning of Wednesday, Oct. 22nd, the day of the last Council meeting, and returned on Sunday night, the 9th of November, having been absent nineteen days, eight of which were spent in travelling. I reached Vienna late on the Thursday night, journeying by Queensborough, and, after some eight hours at sea, making the run from Flushing of twenty-eight hours without change of carriage. It took me longer to return from Vienna, as, on account of breaking the journey for a day in Dresden, I could not secure the through express train by which I had previously travelled; but time was important on the way thither, as the Sunday was the opening day of the new church. On the Saturday morning I went on to Budapest, a distance of five hours, arriving in the afternoon, and was met at the station by the Rev. Charles Derzsi, with a number of lay and clerical friends, and was taken to the hotel where I was to stay, and where Miss Tagart and Miss Florence Hill had already also found their temporary home.

I was accompanied from Vienna by Mr. Warschauer, a gentleman from Leeds, who had desired to attend at the service of the following day, and was now invited to share with us the hearty and generous hospitality of the Budapest Church Committee. When we all sat down on that first day at Budapest to our first Hungarian dinner, it was impossible not to feel entirely at home. We were not only among friends, but we were meeting friends most of whom we had well known in London, and with whom we could converse freely in our own language. The repast was characteristically Hungarian, but the only language spoken was English, and it was pleasant to find so many of our

old students who had not forgotten the lessons of their residence in student days amongst us.

The Bishop came to us before the party broke up. He was staying with Mr. Derzsi at his home in a suite of rooms adjoining the church, where he afterwards received us in due form. I had seen him many years ago at our Anniversary Meeting of 1859, in the Manor Rooms at Hackney. He had just completed his studies in Germany, and was visiting England with Mr. Aaron Buzogany on his way home. I well remember the impression made upon me then by his look of concentrated power, and his quiet dignity of manner. When I met him now, it was with the advantage of having had, in my official capacity, dating from 1876, the year of his appointment, long and frequent communications from him, that had revealed the earnestness and depth of character, united with a certain statesmanlike forethought and administrative ability, which I have always felt to afford ample proof that the churches of Transylvania had made an admirable selection when they chose Mr. Ferencz to succeed to Bishop Kriza. But I gained now a new impression, which my later visit among his own family deepened from day to day, and I understood more clearly the secret of the Bishop's great influence, when I observed the unassuming simplicity and the predominant benevolence of character by which he was distinguished, and felt that he was indeed a man to be beloved as well as respected.

We went in the evening to inspect the pile of buildings in the centre of which the church is as it were embedded, and which are to become ultimately the property of the congregation. The entrance to the church is reached by

two flights of stone steps, the minister's apartments being on the same floor. The interior of the church is of limited proportions, but thoroughly ecclesiastical in form, with a lofty roof, and the walls beautifully decorated. It has a handsome carved pulpit at one end, and an organ gallery at the other. Altogether the building reflects credit upon the architect, and one could not help sympathizing with the joy with which its completion is regarded, after the long waiting and the strenuous exertions of which it is the welcome result. The site, which was, according to custom, a free grant from the Government, has great advantages, being in the midst of Government offices, and very near to the grand buildings now in course of erection for the Hungarian Parliament.

At the Dedication Service, which commenced at ten o'clock on the following morning, the church was crowded, every available place for sitting or standing being occupied by a congregation whose reverent demeanour and intense eagerness to listen was most marked throughout the service. That the celebration had excited the public attention was shown by the presence of many State dignitaries on the occasion. A brief list that was given to me will indicate in some degree the respect in which our brethren in Hungary are held. Among the audience were the Minister of Education and Religion, Count Csáky, and the Hon. Albert Berzeviczy, States Secretary; Messrs. Viola and Toldy, City Councillors; the Hon. Albert Bedö, Ministerial Councillor, and head of the Department of Forestry, who is the Chairman of the Congregational Committee; Dr. Székely,

and Messrs. Szentiványi and Ilyés, Judges of the Supreme Law Court; Mr. Daniel, a Lord-Lieutenant in Transylvania, and Mr. Daniel, Jun.; Messrs. Gál, Pap, Hegedüs, Boncza, and György, Members of Parliament; Professor Pecz, Professor of the University; the Hon. Alexis Jakab, Member of the Academy, and Keeper of the Hungarian Archives; the Rev. Mr. Horvath and another Evangelical minister, and Mr. Bokros, Vice-President of the Hungarian Parliament. It was understood that the Bishop of the Calvinist churches would have been present had it not unfortunately happened that they were holding a General Assembly at the time.

Count Csáky, I was afterwards informed, expressed to Bishop Ferencz the gratification with which he had attended the service, remarking that he had been specially impressed with the simple and earnest devotion of his opening prayer. I should add that, so far as appearances went as regards the look of the congregation and the mode of procedure, the English visitors might easily have fancied themselves in a place of worship in their own country, excepting for a certain predominance of dark eyes and complexions among the audience; but they could not help being struck with one group of men and women dressed after the fashion of the country places from which they had come. They were members of the new country congregations which have been gathered to the Unitarian fold mainly through the labours of Mr. Derzsi. It was wonderful to see, when we exchanged greetings with them afterwards, how much of intelligent interest and affection could be expressed in looks and gestures and tones of speech by people who understood

no single word of each other's language. The presence of these homely but warm-hearted guests brought clearly to mind the narrow limits of the position which is all that Unitarianism has as yet been able to conquer in the old kingdom of Hungary, surrounded on every hand by adherents of the other three churches which the State recognizes along with the Unitarian Church, the Lutheran, the Calvinist, and the Roman Catholic, not to speak of the members of the Greek Church, who form a considerable proportion of the population. The filial or daughter congregations which were so characteristically represented on this occasion consist of converts from the other Protestant communions, and their accession is regarded not without some jealousy, especially by the Calvinists; but they are genuine accessions. The change is not with them a mere change of opinion. The people come completely over in families, with all the associations of their social life, into the light and freedom of Unitarian principles. It is among these farming and labouring people that, so far as I can judge, the future hope lies of the progress of Unitarianism in Hungary.

The service was indeed deeply interesting. The opening hymn, "In thee we had our hope from the beginning," was sung with great heartiness and fervour, and then the Bishop ascended the pulpit and offered the dedicatory prayer. The central thought of his address which followed was, that this new temple of worship was to be to the worshippers a true house of God, a temple of religious liberty and culture, of the teaching of virtue and the pious life, of the grand doctrine of the One only God, and of the love to God and man.

He had spoken of the aid which had been afforded by the Unitarians of England and America, and of the gratitude and pleasure with which the Unitarians of Hungary received the manifestation of sympathy with their work in the delegation of the Secretary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association to the present ceremony. The opportunity was then given to your representative to deliver, as I did in a brief address, the message of sympathy and congratulation with which I had been commissioned by the Committee and Council of the Association, concluding with a prayer for the Divine blessing upon the good work to which the church was now to be devoted, and on the efforts of the Hungarian Unitarians to spread the light and glory of their religion throughout the land. A sermon was then preached by Mr. Derzsi, setting forth the essential principles of the Unitarian faith, and showing that this was indeed a religion to meet the wants of an age in which men were everywhere bringing old beliefs to the test of new research, and striving in all ways to find the truth.

The Communion Service was then administered by the Rev. Dénes Péterfi, first to the men and afterwards to the women, the communicants standing in a semicircle round the open space in front of the pulpit, with the bread and wine placed on a small table in the centre. The well-known symbols needed no interpreting: of the minister's address we could only judge that the words were eloquent by the evident impression they made upon the congregation. I am pleased to add that in the earlier service the common practice of separating the women from the men had not

been observed. Indeed, there was no arrangement for the distinction.

When the services in the church were over, we adjourned to the large and handsome committee-room which adjoins the minister's private apartments, and a formal address of heartiest welcome was given to the deputation and visitors on the part of the Church Committee by Mr. Bedö, their Curator, or as we should say President. Mr. Bedö apologized for his inability to address us otherwise than in a foreign tongue, but we could see in the kindly look of his fine, manly and open countenance, the great pleasure he felt in doing all he could to make his English visitors feel that they were not counted as strangers by the Unitarians of Budapest.

The Bishop presided at the Banquet which followed, and which was given in the large hall of the Municipal Redoute or Assembly-rooms, close by the Hotel "*Reine d'Angleterre*," where we were all staying. The speaking began long before the dinner was over, first doing honour to the King and the Municipality, and then ranging through a long succession of good wishes to the Church Committee and its President, to the Bishop and the Minister of the new church, and all who in any way were connected with it or with the present occasion.

Your representative, occupying the post of honour on the Bishop's right hand, received special attention, and when his health was proposed, with all good wishes for the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, the whole company seemed to come forward, after the custom of the country, to touch glasses with him, in personal testimony

to their unanimous feeling of gratification that he had been sent to take part in their great church celebration. It was then my turn to speak, an opportunity which I embraced the more readily that I had felt it my duty to be very brief in the morning's service, while speaking to a miscellaneous audience in a foreign language.

Quoting a sentiment to which I remembered hearing Dr. Martineau speak in the Crystal Palace at our Anniversary of 1853, "The Unitarians of Hungary: may their schools be strong in learning, and their churches devout, and may both be built on freedom," as illustrating how long and with what true appreciation the Unitarians of England had understood and sympathized with the Unitarians of Hungary, and the high character and noble history of their people, I referred in particular to the invaluable services of Mr. John Paget in 1857, which had the good effect of bringing the two sections of Unitarian believers, the Hungarian and the British, into more intimate relations with each other, so that from the threatened troubles of that time the greatest good had come: first, that we began to visit what had always seemed to our people the remarkable community of Unitarian churches of Transylvania, with which, however, before we had had only a distant acquaintance; and secondly, that young Hungarians had been encouraged to reside and study in England, as they had done in almost unbroken succession for now nearly thirty years. Ten of them we had had the great advantage and pleasure of thus knowing in the intimacy of our English homes, and the eleventh was still with us at the Manchester New College in Oxford. We were glad to know that eight

of these former students were still living and filling important posts of duty in connection with their University schools and churches.

What I had said was then repeated in Hungarian by the Rev. Principal and Professor, John Kovacs, whom we all knew and loved so well in England, and whose devotion and kindness to myself during my whole stay in Hungary I shall always gratefully remember. The audience responded heartily to every expression of our fraternal regard, following with marked interest the recital of the circumstances which had led to the increased mutual knowledge and intimacy of the Hungarian and English Unitarians, and they were especially gratified to hear that the resolution of sympathy at the last meeting of the Council, moved by our President, had been supported by Alderman Sir James Clarke Lawrence, whose recent visit was most agreeably remembered.

On the Monday, Mr. Derzsi invited us to meet at dinner the ministers and other Unitarian friends, and we had the pleasure of hearing our old students, Mr. Benczedi, Mr. Kovacs, Mr. Derzsi, Mr. Péterfi, Mr. Boros, Mr. Gál, and Mr. Csifo, partly in English and partly in their own language. Mr. Varga, much to our regret, had been unable to come to Budapest on account of school duties at Torda. Several of the country friends before referred to also spoke on this occasion, which was further rendered memorable by the unusual circumstance of a lady being invited to address the assembly. Miss Lucy Tagart pointed out the important position which women might fill in the diffusion of the

grand principles of Unitarianism by their home influence, in the training of their children, and in exemplifying the practical virtues of the Unitarian faith. The impression of this wise counsel from an English lady will not soon be effaced.

It was deepened by the recollection that Miss Tagart had accompanied her honoured father on his mission journey to Kolozsvár, in Transylvania. It was of this visit that Mr. John Paget wrote, in November, 1858, to the Rev. Robert Brook Aspland, who succeeded Mr. Tagart in the Secretaryship of the Association: "It is impossible to describe the pleasure Mr. Tagart's presence caused among the Unitarians here. It seemed the opening of a new era in their history. They were no longer the lost sheep, no longer a forgotten outpost on the confines of barbarism; they were again united to the great flock, again acknowledged members of a church whose name was known and respected through England and America." Mr. Paget added: "They deserve assistance, and they are not ungrateful; but they will ever hold most dear the memory of him who first came among them, and who has perhaps sacrificed his life on their behalf."

We were accompanied the next day by Mr. Boros in a visit to Buda, on the other side of the Danube, and were taken through the splendid rooms of the King's Palace, adorned with some fine and characteristic paintings, and saw also the remarkable church of Matthias Corvinus, now in process of restoration by the Municipality. The view from the lofty rock on which the Palace stands is singularly fine, the grand river flowing at its foot, with a noble sus-

pension-bridge, remarkable as a memorial of the celebrated Count Sechenyi, through whose exertions it was built, one amongst many symbols of national progress due to his self-sacrificing public spirit. Then followed what I may call a Manchester New College dinner, with Mr. Boros, Mr. Gál, and Mr. Csifo, to whom we had to give news of their old fellow-students, and from whom we learned much of the minister's manner of life and work in the country places where two of them were settled.

Of the city of Budapest I need only say here that it is one of the finest cities I have ever seen—Buda chiefly for its magnificent site, and Pest for the general effect of its grand and wide avenues of streets, and its numerous large and handsome public buildings. One of these we visited, which may serve as a specimen. It is a State Training College for High School female teachers and governesses, which is connected with an Elementary and a High School. We were struck with two things in particular, the care which had been taken to secure the highest order of teaching, with every conceivable improvement of apparatus, in the schools, and the general neatness and order that were conspicuous in the arrangements for the comfort and welfare of the pupils. Miss Zirzen, the Principal of the establishment, received us with much kindness and hospitality. We were introduced by Miss Ellen Berta, one of the teachers of English whom Miss Tagart had known in England ; another was a daughter of the late Mr. Buzogany, formerly Professor in the University at Kolozsvár, and afterwards the Private Secretary of the Minister of Education, the worthily celebrated Eötvös.

On the day following, the ladies left on their way home. The Bishop, with his son and daughter, were to return to Kolozsvár on the Friday, and at his kind and urgent invitation I had decided to accompany them. Mr. Kovacs also travelled with us. They were anxious that I should see the College and meet the students, and that, having come so far on the way to the central home of Unitarianism in Transylvania, I should not go back to England without paying a visit, if only for a few days, to their church and people.

In 1868, the Rev. J. J. Tayler, with his daughter, had to travel post for two days by the road the latter half of the way from Budapest to Kolozsvár. Our train left at two in the afternoon, and it was not quite eleven when we arrived. So much has changed within the last twenty years, and so modern had everything seemed in Budapest, that I was hardly prepared for the survival of an old custom which gave me my first special experience at Kolozsvár. We had no sooner alighted from the train than I found myself in presence of a company of ministers, professors, and students, to the number of some thirty or forty, with the Rev. Dénis Péterfi at their head, who made a speech of welcome to the representative of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, to which I replied in suitable terms, and then we drove off to the Bishop's house, where I was to stay.

The three days of my visit to Bishop Ferencz will always remain as a precious memory to me. To the good people about, I was of course an object of some curiosity, and in various small matters one could not but be sensible of

foreign ways and customs ; but so far as concerned my host and his family, I could only remark that I was entertained in every particular as I should expect to be in any well-ordered English household.

It was a pity that Mrs. Ferencz and I could not speak to each other an intelligible word ; but her sweet and kindly thoughtfulness, from the first to the last moment of my stay, made it impossible for me not to feel almost as though I were at my own home in London.

I gladly seized the opportunity of my short visit to learn from Bishop Ferencz as much as I could respecting the churches and people over whom he has so well presided for now some fifteen years. I was struck with one thing which I had before noticed in a few other instances—the quickness with which a student of a philosophical habit of mind acquires readiness in speaking a language of which hitherto he has had only a book-knowledge when the opportunity of converse comes in his way. We had some difficulty at first in conversation, but the few days of English speaking and hearing at Budapest had already given new facility, and by the time I left I felt that only a few months of intercourse would be needed to enable the Bishop to converse with absolute freedom in English.

I was taken on the Saturday morning to see the church and the college. The church has a plain exterior, but is of fine proportions within, with a certain look of grandeur from its immense size. It would be greatly improved for comfort and tastefulness by colouring of some kind, to break the monotony and bareness of the great spaces of whitened wall. The large boulder from which the gospel of the

Unitarian Reformation was first proclaimed by Francis David is shown in a retired spot outside the church, but is certainly not made the most of in either its position or its appearance. But the church itself is a monument of the resolute faith and hope of those who built it, though one could not but deplore with our brethren the loss of the Cathedral Church in the centre of the town, from which, under an Austrian Emperor, the Unitarians were evicted in 1716, after nearly a century and a half of undisturbed possession from the time of their first Bishop, Francis David; especially in comparing the simple dignity of the Unitarian worship in the one place, with the tawdry associations of Catholic ceremonial that were conspicuous when I saw it in the other.

I could not help thinking of the times of cruel wrong and oppression as I passed through the college buildings, enlarged and improved not long since, and remembered that I was but following in the footsteps of Francis Joseph, the present Emperor of Austria, but King of Hungary, who during his two days' stay in Kolozsvár three years before, paid the college a special visit, and expressed to the Bishop much gratification with what he saw. Wonderful as it seemed to me, how much was done here in maintaining a high standard of education for the ministry of the Transylvanian churches with very limited resources, it was surely natural to wish that they might have now had restored to them the large endowments of which they had been robbed in the trying days of persecution.

There was a great fair at this time in Kolozsvár which would last for several days, and the large square was

crowded with booths and waggons, in which for the most part the country people, Wallacks, Saxons, and Hungarians, lived for the time. It was a moving panorama of different types of physiognomy and dress very striking to a stranger.

In the evening I found a company of friends whom the Bishop had invited to meet me at dinner, with most of whom I had the pleasure of making acquaintance for the first time. There was much speech-making, as seems to be the invariable custom on such occasions ; but though it was mostly in Hungarian and had to be interpreted to me, the geniality of the welcome intended was so apparent that one could not but feel interested. Every allusion to the English and American Unitarians was so cordially responded to, while every mark of personal attention was so emphatic, that the idea speedily became impossible to entertain that one was here a stranger in a strange land.

After morning service in the church on the Sunday, when a sermon was preached by the Rev. Andrew Mozes, one of the two ministers of the Kolozsvár congregation, in which, as I was given to understand, some graceful reference was made to the mission on which I had come, as an illustration of the loving fellowship which united Christians of many lands in the love of God and man, a meeting was held of the Representative Consistory in their Hall within the College buildings, the walls of which are covered with portraits of notabilities and friends of the church. The Consistory is so called, I understand, because the Government recognizes this Assembly as "representing" the Unitarian community of churches : the name

has no reference to its constitution. The Bishop as President having introduced me to the meeting, addressed me in terms of heartiest welcome as the Secretary and representative of our Association, and I had the pleasure of assuring the brethren in reply of the warm interest felt among English Unitarians in the prosperity and usefulness of the Hungarian churches, and of our best wishes for the success of the new church in Budapest, and of their efforts to diffuse the light of the Unitarian faith throughout their country. The following resolution was afterwards placed in my hands for presentation to our Committee and Council :

“The Representative Consistory expresses its warm thanks to the Rev. Henry Ierson for his goodness in that he was so kind as to visit us in the old home of Hungarian Unitarianism. At the same time the Consistory requests him to convey its most cordial thanks to the British and Foreign Unitarian Association for the kindness and noble sacrifice which, in connection with the American Unitarian Association, it has testified and does testify, and which strengthens in us the conviction that that sympathy, that deep faith in the truth of the Unitarian religion, that strong religious faith and conscientious working which has developed between the English, American and Hungarian Unitarian churches, will be a powerful factor towards the promotion of the further improvement of our common holy religion.

JOSEPH FERENCZ, Bishop of the Unitarian Churches
in Hungary.

ANTON KOVACSI, Secretary.”

I went afterwards with Mr. Kovacs to call upon our old mutual friend Mr. John Paget, who had just arrived from his country residence, to spend the winter, as is still the custom of the country gentry, in Kolozsvár. It was grati-

fyng to see the delight with which he welcomed a visitor from England, and was eager to hear about English friends and English affairs. We met there the Countess Bethlen, who has the English tongue entirely at command, and the husband of Mr. Paget's granddaughter, Count Ladislaus Teleky, who also speaks English perfectly. The lady herself was absent on a visit. Remembering with what zeal and devotion Mr. Paget had long served the country and the churches of his adopted home, I should have felt disappointed not to have met the author of the work on Hungary which I had read years ago with so much interest. He suffers now from feeble health, but conversed with us with much spirit and animation.

Then we had the good fortune to find also at home a nobleman of another type, the learned and good Dr. Brassai, whose ninetieth birthday had recently been celebrated by the many friends by whom he is no less loved than esteemed.

Our visit was more brief than I should have liked ; but they keep early hours in Hungary, and as I had been invited to dine with the gentlemen members of the Kolozsvár congregation in the Hotel Hungaria, we could not make a long stay.

Besides the Bishop, Prof. J. Kovacs, Prof. G. Boros, and the Rev. D. Péterfi, there were present on this occasion, Mr. J. Hajos, Ministerial Councillor and Superintendent of the College ; Prof. Moses Pap ; Mr. Anton Kovacs, Administrative Secretary ; Mr. A. Molnar, Advocate ; Mr. Ladislaus Gynlai, Treasurer of the City ; Mr. M. Iszlai, a teacher in the school ; Mr. L. Nagy, Professor and General Secretary ; and Dr. Rózsahegyí, a Roman Catholic, Professor

of Hygiene ; and other distinguished men in the town and University.

They gave me a most cordial and hospitable reception. I had of course to speak at all the gatherings I am describing, though I do not think it necessary to report what I said on these various occasions ; the one important fact was that I always had the invaluable help of Mr. Kovacs to interpret for me to my audiences and to keep me well informed of what was said by others.

In the evening I met another assembly, which in view of our future relations with the Hungarian brethren, I could not but regard with special interest. It was a meeting of the English Conversation Club, at which the rule is that nothing but English shall be spoken. It was founded by Professor Kovacs and Mr. Péterfi in 1876, and has at present thirty members. We were meeting again at the Hotel Hungaria, and Prof. Kovacs presided. The notice had been too short for many of the members to welcome me, but I think it of interest to mention some who were present : Dr. Brassai, retired Professor of the University ; Rev. D. Péterfi, Rev. A. Mozes ; Dr. Henry Finály, University Professor and Curator of the College Library, a Roman Catholic gentleman ; Mr. Julius Kriza, Secretary of the Financial Directory, a son of the late Bishop Kriza ; Prof. G. Boros, and Mr. Francis Kozma, Superintendent of Education in the county of Kolozsvár. On this occasion I gave a short discourse, as an old teacher myself, on the art of learning and teaching our language, which was very kindly received, and I ventured to advise the chartering of English Professors to visit them from time to time, and

for longer periods than I could afford to give, as the best means of introducing the practice of English speech among their people. I mention with the more pleasure for the reason that I have already suggested, that Bishop Ferencz delivered on this occasion a speech in remarkably good English, considering how little personal intercourse he had had with English people.

I had the opportunity before we left the hotel of hearing a band of the celebrated Gypsy musicians, with whose peculiar style of music we have of late years become familiar at home. I refer to this because I had noticed that the old practice, which has been generally remarked upon by former English visitors, of having this music as an invariable accompaniment at festival dinners, had apparently been discontinued so far as our experience had gone.

There was but one day left before I was to set my face homewards. This began with a visit to the college, where it was the Bishop's duty to preside at a meeting of the theological students, at which one of them was to deliver a sermon, to be commented upon by such others as chose to speak on the subject. On this occasion I had the honour of receiving a touching address in their name, which was delivered in excellent English by the senior student, Mr. Joseph Gál, to which I was glad to reply with the kindest words of counsel and encouragement which I could offer. I had become familiar by this time with the "Eljens," the mark of applause of every popular sentiment at the public meetings of Hungarians; but the hearty greeting of these young men, the future hope of their churches, was to me specially moving.

A short drive to a neighbouring park with the Bishop and Mr. Kovacs enabled me to see something of the beautiful country around Kolozsvár, and to go over the building and see the large and well-appointed lecture-rooms of a new Institute for the study of Hygiene, of which Dr. Rózsahegyí is the head. It was now the turn of Mr. Péterfi to be my host at the hotel where I was to meet a company of friends ; and in the evening we were again assembled at the house of Mr. Boros, being on both occasions most hospitably entertained. I had had the pleasure of forming the acquaintance of Mrs. Boros when she came with her husband on his last visit to England, and it was a great pleasure to be welcomed by her and her husband in their own home.

My train was to start on Tuesday morning at six o'clock ; but I was not to leave without the farewell greetings of a company of now familiar friends who had come thus early to see me off. It was about two o'clock when I arrived at Budapest, and was taken by Mr. Derzsi to spend the rest of the day, and the day following, at his home. I had wished for the opportunity of more intimate converse with him than had been possible during the previous busy week, and of learning more respecting what he denominates "The Little Library," which is a collection of Unitarian pamphlets translated from English by him, and printed for circulation by means of what is really a Postal Mission. These tracts are widely read by people of various persuasions. In the help which has been given to Mr. Derzsi from year to year by the two Associations, the American and English,

I was glad to find that it was partly work of this kind which we have been, as he said, materially assisting.

The Associations have also to some extent aided in another important way in Mr. Derzsi's work. Besides the 126 churches in Transylvania which, having pastors of their own, are regarded as independent churches, there are 66 congregations holding regular worship, but by means of what we should call supplies. These are the *filie ecclesie*, or "filial churches," of Mr. Derzsi's reports. Such congregations appear likely to multiply around the new central church of Budapest. There are already five more or less firmly established. Two of them are supplied with assistant ministers, Hód-Mező-Vásárhely and Polgárdi ; third at Berény has a school under the charge of Mr. Csifo, a brother of our Manchester New College friend ; and two others are in process of consolidation. The first of the one referred to in the Report of the Rev. A. Gordon, consisting of converts partly from the Lutheran and partly from the Calvinist bodies. The others had been mostly Calvinist. Mr. Gordon has explained under what peculiar conditions these new congregations have to be formed. I now learned more fully than I had known before how much of Mr. Derzsi's time and means have been taken up with this increasing charge, due to some extent at least to the influence of his own publications ; how needful it has been to apportion to them in some cases pecuniary help ; and how considerably, therefore, the means furnished by the annual grants of the Associations has had to be drawn on for this object. If one may judge from the experience of the last few years as to the probable growth of Unitarianism in Hungary, it is not surprising that Mr. Derzsi's work should have become so important.

rianism in Hungary proper, the pressing need will be, we shall surely rejoice to know, for increased help to this unquestionably successful result of what we denominate our Foreign work.

And one thing further I wish to say as to this matter of spreading Unitarian thought in Hungary, that in strengthening the hands of Mr. Derzsi we are assisting a minister specially, and I had almost said providentially, fitted for this particular work. We knew little of him when he was at the College in Gordon Square; it was before my time, and, with his quiet reserve of manner and habits of life, he did not find it so easy as other students have since done to make himself at home in England; but I entirely agree with the Bishop that he is just the man for the position he holds in Budapest. He has all the culture that attracts the higher class of minds in the capital, conjoined with the necessary zeal and devotion and willingness to work needed for a propagandist missionary. We were almost strangers when we met, excepting so far as we had become officially acquainted by correspondence; but I left him with the feeling that it would be a positive calamity if from any cause he were called away from the fine position which he has made for himself as the representative Unitarian minister of the capital of Hungary.

Let me say, in conclusion, that I am glad on many accounts that I was asked to go on this fraternal mission, which I have every reason to believe has cemented more closely the ties of mutual regard and affection between ourselves and our Hungarian brethren. When I was sent to the United States on a similar mission nearly twenty years

ago, I little thought of what immense and permanent service would be to me, in my subsequent official relations with our American brethren, the experiences of that visit. I do not doubt that it will prove of like invaluable service in our future relations with the churches of Hungary, that I have enjoyed this opportunity of a more intimate acquaintance with them, with their ways of living and thinking, than could ever have been otherwise available. I only regretted that my stay could not have been longer and at a more seasonable time. But we shall feel, I trust, on both sides, that we know and love each other better from the pleasant and useful visit of your Secretary to the Unitarians of Hungary.

5
Library of the
PACIFIC UNITARIAN SCHOOL
FOR THE MINISTRY
Berkeley, California

Three Centuries of Unitarianism in
Transylvania and Hungary.

A LECTURE

- BY -

JOHN FRETWELL, Jr.

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THREE CENTURIES OF UNITARIANISM

—IN—

TRANSYLVANIA AND HUNGARY.

IN studying that magnificent show of the results of the Industry of all Nations, now collected amid the sylvan beauties of your magnificent Fairmount Park, too soon, alas! to be dispersed, and comparing this with my recollections of four months spent in 1873, at a similar international gathering on the banks of the Danube, one characteristic difference is always present to my mind. That was the festival of memory, this of hope. There I went down the old historic Danube, whose every height was crowned with castle or church, or monastery, petrified records of the distant past; every islet in the stream was brightened by the halo of some sweet story of human love, or saddened by the records of human crime and error. How different here! The records of the past that we see here are not the monuments of our forefathers; but like the block of white pine in your Canadian Exhibit, reminders of what God has done for you, His favored people, in the slow, silent and persistent working of His natural laws; everything speaks to me of hope and encouragement.

And as in the material world, so it is in the spiritual. Long before I came to America I read the address of your Council to the Churches, full of the hope that our Unitarianism

would really be the *Restitutio Christianismi* of America, the purest inspiration of your western march of empire. But this very hope has its reverse side. It tempts us too readily to discount the future, and forget the lessons of the past, and, wherever I go among preachers or people, I find as a chief weakness, the neglect of that history which records for us past institutions and past experiences. So this evening, while your western men talk to you of future hopes, I would lead your thoughts back to the lands of memory, to Hungary and Transylvania, which, long shut out from intercourse with the western world, are now, partly inspired by your call starting forward on a new career. For these older countries are indeed taking a new departure, roused by the trumpet call of freedom from Philadelphia, in 1776, and, as you have made a western road to Asia, they are advancing eastward to meet you. The iron road is being laid along the track of the old Crusaders, through the passes of the Carpathians, and across Turkey and the Dardanelles, to the Holy Land. The palace of Zenobia, at Palmyra, the ruined cities of Bashan, and the Temple of the Sun, at Baalbec, will furnish lordly stations for the railroad. And the track once travelled by Xenophon and his ten thousand Greeks, is now being explored by English engineers to discover the best eastern route to India. So, to-night, let me take back your thoughts to the distant past, and sketch the history of one of the first countries on this eastern route.

On the extreme verge of western civilization, a bulwark against northern barbarism and Turkish hate, stands Transylvania, a natural fortress in the Carpathian Mountains, a country which has played no small part in ancient history. In olden times it was inhabited by the Dacians, who in their forays penetrated plundering into Greece, and even now the peasant at times turns up with his ploughshare coins bearing the impress of Alexander the Great. Then the eagles of Rome, the mistress of the world, crossed the Ister, and the

legions of Trajan, led by Octavianus, marched up the Valley of the Hatzeg, winning foot by foot the land from its Dacian inhabitants, until, at last, their king, Decebalus, was finally conquered at Patavissa, the modern Klausenburg. During the one hundred and fifty years of Roman sway, the language too received a Roman stamp; mines were explored, roads made, towns and temples erected, and everywhere monuments, inscriptions, weapons, gems and household implements, bear record to the permanent results of the Roman occupation. The Quartz hills of Abrudbanya were the El Dorado of the Romans. Men went there in those early days as they now go to California and Colorado, and there is no more striking monument in the world to the power of the Romans, to what may be achieved by the uninterrupted, persevering toil of thousands of men working on and on unrestingly for a century than the rocks of the Csetatye Mare. Millions of tons of stone have been taken to obtain the gold which is sometimes found pure in leaves, sometimes like a tuft of yellow hair, fine as the down of a thistle. In the passages and caverns the traces of fire are still evident. As the stone is hard as iron, the labor of those days was immense. Powder not having been invented, large fires were made against the rock till it became brittle and could be more easily worked with the pick. As I stood last year in one of these long deserted workings, I heard the sound of hammers above, and presently two men emerged from a gallery; they were seeking for gold where, 1,700 years before, the Roman soldier had been engaged in the same occupation.

But at last, threatened by neighboring barbarians, the conquerors of the world withdrew, and then came that great migration of nations which was cotemporary with the breaking up of the Roman Empire. In the year 270 the Goths made themselves masters of Dacia; a hundred years later they were driven westward by the Huns, who, once dwelling (600 B. C.) on the confines of China, had gradually crossed

the steppes of Asia, the lowlands of Bessarabia, till at last like a swarm of locusts they ravaged all Europe. In 434, under Attila, the King Etzel of the *Nibelungenlied*, the "Scourge of God" of the Romans, their power reached its zenith, and on the Campus Catalaunicus, the battle-field of Chalons, they met the combined forces of the Romans and Ostragoths under Ætius and Theodoric, and then came that terrible combat, the *Hunnenschlacht*, which Kaulbach has painted. Six hundred thousand warriors are said to have been slain in this combat, which decided the fate of Europe. The Huns rushed back in mad flight to their Asiatic cradle-lands; but two small parties got separated from the main army, and lost their way. One of these strayed northward, and settled along the shores of the Baltic, and from them the Fins of to-day are descended. The other, going from the Hungarian plains up the valley of the Maros, settled in that part of Transylvania which is now called *Szekelyfold* (the *Szekler* land), and from them are descended those *Szeklers*, among whom are to be found the sixty thousand Unitarians of to-day.

After the Huns came the Lombards, and then the Avars, who also extended their forays into France, but (A. D. 803) were driven back by Charlemagne. About this time some weak attempts were made by monks from Britain and from Italy, to introduce Christianity, but ignorant of the language, relying more upon ceremonies than upon schools and regular teaching, they did not make much progress. And these few traces were quickly wiped out by a new irruption of Turanians. These were the Magyars, who originally settled on both sides of the Ural Mountains, between the Volga and the *Irtisch*, and had no home but the ever changing bivouac fires of their tribe, no order but that of their clan, no protection but their sword and the fleetness of their horses. Urged by the Greek emperor, they conquered the Bulgarians in Macedonia, and then marched into Hungary. There they found out the *Szeklers* and other records of their ancestors, the

Huns, and increased in power, until under Arpad, they made themselves the terror of the surrounding nations. The "God of the Magyars" in those times was Mars, the god of battles, and under their Duke Zoltan, between the years 907-947, we find them plundering in Bavaria and Saxony, Switzerland and Alsace. But Henry the Fowler drove them back, at Merseberg, leaving 34,000 of their warriors dead on the battle-field. Then the Emperor Otto vanquished them on the Lechfeld, hung their leaders, and after the baptism of blood persuaded them to turn from the worship of Mars and Rasdi to that of the living God. In the year 972, Bishop Bruno came to Hungary, and soon after Duke Geyza was baptized. With the introduction of Christianity ceased the migration of nations. Geyza married a Christian princess, and when their son Stephen married the daughter of the German Emperor, he set to work to convert his people in all earnest.

When this princess came into the country, she brought in her train a large number of her countrymen. Some were knights from Bohemia and Bavaria, from Suabia, Franconia and Saxony. Others were tradesmen and mechanics, who settled down quietly in the whole country, managed the forests, and worked the mines. I suppose some of my hearers have read Robert Browning's legend of the Pied Piper of Hamelin, telling how the city of Hamelin in Brunswick was so infested with rats that the people were eaten out of house and granary. There came one day a piper to their town, and offered to deliver them from the rats, if the Burgo-master would give him a thousand florins. The bargain was made; the piper played upon his pipe, and enticed the rats out of every hole and corner, out of granary, garret and sewer, till in long rows they followed him to the river and were drowned. And when the last rat was exterminated the piper demanded his reward. But the mayor, now that he was free from the rats, refused to fulfil his part of the agreement. So the piper, said by the legend to have been

the Prince of Darkness, who, like many other princes, occasionally travelled *incognito*, again took up his pipe and played upon it, and there followed him this time, not the vermin, but the little children. Playing in the streets, they stopped and listened ; the very babies toddled out of their cradles, and the young men and maidens were so fascinated by the music of his pipe, that one and all turned aside from their play, and their cradle and their love-making, and followed the piper, who led them, not to the river, but to a cave in Mount Koppenberg, whose portals opened wide to receive them, but when the last child had entered, closed forever upon these people, who had so foolishly tried to cheat the devil of his due. The legend goes on to say :

“ That in Transylvania there’s a tribe,
Of alien people, who ascribe
The outlandish ways and dress,
On which their neighbors lay such stress,
To their fathers and mothers having risen
Out of some subterranean prison,
Into which they were trepanned,
Long time ago in a mighty band,
Out of Hamelin town, in Brunswick land,
But how, or why, they don’t understand.”

☞ When I visited Transylvania last year, thinking of Robert Browning’s lines, I sought for their origin, and after long search found it in an old Latin chronicle in the library of the Calvinist College at Szekely Udvarhely.

Probably the fact that among the first German settlers were the miners of Thoroczko, whose underground labor associated them with subterraneous passages in the mountains, may have suggested this feature of the legend. These miners, almost exclusively Unitarians, and speaking the Magyar tongue, are descended from German miners of the Hartz ; and if you want to see in real life how the Germans of Lower Saxony lived seven hundred years ago, you may see it this day

in the German towns of Transylvania. In the 11th and 12th centuries the freeholders of Germany were gradually becoming serfs, under the heavy yoke of the church and the nobles, but they could not forget their old freedom and strove to rid themselves of their fetters. In 1135, the sea flooded a great part of Flanders, Brabant and Zealand ; and the population, thus deprived of all shelter and property, being renowned for their courage and industry, received invitations on all sides to settle in other countries. Some settled in the flat country formerly possessed by the Obotrites in Lower Saxony and in Thuringia ; others came to England to defend our frontiers against Scotch and Welsh ; others again went to Hungary to defend its borders against the Cumanes and the Petschenegi. Then, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, came the Crusaders. While some went by sea, others travelled through Transylvania and the passes of the Carpathians, on their way to the Holy Land. Many loitered on their way, or returning, spread a report that Hungary was a land of wonders, where German settlers were freemen and no longer bound beneath the iron rule of their knights and bishops. It was a land of promise for thousands, and the name of Hungary had for these impoverished and oppressed dwellers in Western Europe, the magic which that of America now possesses. Down to the present hour the song of these emigrants of the twelfth century, may be heard in the hay fields of Brabant as the peasants sing :

“ Haer bostland willen wy reiden,
 Haer bostland willen wy mee :
 Al over die groene heiden,
 Frisch over die heiden,
 Daer ist een beetere stee.”

“ To the Eastland we will ride,
 To the Eastland will we go :
 All over the green heaths,
 Fresh over the heaths,
 There is a better home.”

Even in these days, when the Englishman listens to the harvester songs in the Zype, at the southern foot of the Carpathian Hills, or in the land under the Forest, one of the Saxon Districts of Transylvania, he seems to hear the language of old Anglo-Saxon documents, and the student from the Moselle (Germany) and the Aluta (Transylvania) when they meet at the German Universities, find that the popular dialects of their distant countries have a wonderful similarity.

The settlers found a complete wilderness; as far as the eye could reach the land was covered by an impenetrable forest, and nowhere a trace of human work, except here and there a mound raised over some hero of old, or the ruins of old fortresses on some steep mountain side. But the sinewy arms of the pioneers soon changed the desert into a fruitful land; swamps were drained, woods cleared, the rapid devastating torrents made to irrigate the fields which they had formerly inundated, and to turn the mills. On the sun-kissed Southern slopes of the Carpathian, the vine-stocks brought from German homes on the Rhine were planted, and from the bowels of the mountains were extracted rich stores of ore and salt. Soon villages and fortified towns arose and the flood of German immigration set more and more toward the East. They called the land Siebenburgen, from the seven fortified cities which they founded. The wonderful prosperity of these colonies has the same foundations as that of the Anglo-Saxon colonies in America, not only the courage and industry of the immigrants, but also their love of order, and even in the twelfth century, three hundred years before Luther's time, they were half Protestants. Just as the English when they came to Massachusetts introduced Constitutional freedom and common law, so the Flandrenses, Saxones and Teutonici took with them to the East their municipal statutes, especially those of Nuremberg and Magdeburg, and paid tithes only to their own elected ministers.

They gave none either to Bishop or Pope; thus in the midst of Catholicism, reviving the primitive Christian principle of Congregational government. Their ministers were wealthy enough to send their children to the German universities, and education among the colonists was soon in advance of that in the mother-country.

In 1211 King Andrew II. invited the Teutonic knights into the Burzenland, a fertile plain north of Kronstadt. This order drew colonists from Thuringia, where its grand master, Herrman von Salzer, was born, and extended their possessions to the Danube and the Dniester, trying at the same time to make themselves independent of the Hungarian crown and to turn all the peasants into serfs, as their companions had succeeded in doing in Germany. But neither king nor subject would suffer such oppression in Transylvania, and so in 1226 the knights were obliged to leave the country, leaving traces of their occupation in the names of some of the cities. So, for instance, Szekely Kerest Ur, where the Unitarian college is now situated, is the place of the Knights of Christ in the Szeklerland. In 1222, only seven years after King John of England had been forced by the barons at Runnymede to grant the Magna Charta to the people of England, King Andrew gave the Transylvanians their "Aurea Bulla," or Golden Bull, the charter of their rights, almost as liberal as that of Great Britain.

Not only did the Germans clothe the hillslopes with wine and the valleys with corn, but they also introduced many branches of manufacturing industry, and their wares were in demand in Constantinople, on the one side, in Buda and Pesth, on the other. The rich productions of India and the Levant were brought to them in exchange and so caravans passed up from the Danube lands through the passes of the Carpathians and through the valleys of the westward flowing Maros and Koros, bearing Oriental products to northern markets, and bringing so much wealth into the country that

their chief city, Klausenburg was known in Magyar song and story as Kincses Koloszar—the wealthy Klausenburg. Yet King Andrew's reign was one unbroken chain of misery, distress and difficulty for him and his people, and soon after his death, on the 12th of March, 1241, the wild hordes of the Mongols to the number of half a million broke into Hungary. When they forsook it they left it like one great graveyard. To the end of the century, when the last king of the line of Arpad, Robert III., was poisoned by his Italian servant, the land was subject to frequent incursions from these terrible marauders. The Germans did what they could to protect themselves. The whole Saxonland is full of strongholds erected by these industrious peasants and mechanics, not as elsewhere, for the haunt of robber-knights, but to protect the fruits of their own industry. Where they could not fortify their whole towns, the church at least was protected by a strong wall. These fortress-churches and peasants' castles form the characteristic feature of the country. Hither, when the Mongolian hordes brought fire and sword into the country, the inhabitants brought their treasures, their wives and their children for protection and defence against the enemy.

In 1453, Mahomet II. took Constantinople and put an end to the Greek Empire, and the Hungarians under John Hunyady did good service by keeping the Turks out of Germany. Matthew Corvinus, the son of John Hunyady, was the wisest and greatest of the Hungarian kings, and now came really the golden age of Transylvania. Meanwhile a great revolution was taking place in Western Europe. The thunder of Luther's mighty voice shook the rotten edifice of the Papacy to its very foundations, and cleared the moral atmosphere in which men breathed and lived. Even those lands over which it did not pass felt its purifying influence from afar, and sweeping at first in low murmurs only, across the plains, the reverberations grew stronger in the Carpathian hills, till the Transylvanians hearing them above the din of battle with

the Turks, looked up and listened. The Lutheran doctrines were received with more quick response in Hungary than in any other country in the world. The Germans accepted mostly the Augsburg confession, the Magyars inclined to the teachings of Zwingli and Calvin, but they did not stop even here. Under John Zapolya's widow, Isabella, the three nations inhabiting Transylvania, the Germans, Szeklers and Magyars, made a league of union, placing the boy John Sigismund upon the throne.

Isabella was a princess of Poland, and had brought with her from her father's court an Italian physician, Georgio Blandrata of Saluzzo, one of the companions of Socinus. In the year 1553, Blandrata had left Italy in company with one of his fellow Anti-Trinitarians, Alciati, and taken refuge in Switzerland in the very year in which Servetus was burnt. He visited Poland in 1555, but returning to Italy, he was arrested by the Inquisition and imprisoned at Pavia. He escaped and found refuge in Geneva. Here Calvin caused him to be arrested, and would probably have doomed him to the fate of Servetus had not Blandrata signed the Confession of Geneva. But mistrusting Calvin, he went, in 1558, to Poland, and two years later we find the Italian physician acting as Superintendent of the Calvinist church in Little Poland. He was an Anti-Trinitarian at heart, and by his courtly manners succeeded in gaining great influence over Prince Radzivil. Sent by the prince to the Synod of Pinczon, in 1563, he induced even the Orthodox Trinitarians, to pass a resolution that "All researches about the Trinity, Mediation, "Incarnation, were to be abandoned; all expressions unknown "to the primitive church were prohibited. The ministers were "to preach the pure words of the gospel, unadulterated by any "human explanations. The decisions of councils held after "the Apostolic times were declared not binding." (Socinus the elder, Lelius, visited Poland in 1551 and in 1558.) At this very synod a letter from Calvin was read exhorting the ministers

to beware of Blandrata. But both he and Socinus had learned caution by the fate of Servetus. Servetus was at once theologian and philosopher, and, more warmly attached to Jesus than any of his cotemporaries, he exposed himself more to persecution by his very truthfulness. He gave his thoughts always their natural expression unchecked by any idea of expediency. But others warned by his fate were careful to use only the language of Scripture, and so afforded their adversaries no means of attacking them. In 1563, Blandrata accompanied the Polish princess Isabella to Transylvania, and being a man of uncommon penetration and address he converted not only the prince, but the chief nobles of the country to his views.

A far nobler and purer apostle of Christianity in Transylvania was Francis David, a Transylvanian German, and rector of the High School at Klausenburg, and tutor to the young prince. One day when the market-place was crowded by people earnestly engaged in discussing the theological questions which then troubled men's minds; David, mounting a stone at the corner of the place, addressed the people with such persuasiveness in favor of the doctrines which he himself had embraced, that in a very short time all the Hungarian population became Unitarian, and in the year 1568, the name Unitarian was adopted as that of one of the four established churches of Transylvania. For ten years Blandrata and David worked steadily together for the restoration of primitive Christianity, but in 1578 David's researches in the Bible led him to believe that to address worship to Jesus was to disobey him, and was as little authorized by the Scriptures as the invocation of the Virgin Mary and the saints. He excited the enmity not only of Blandrata, but of Socinus, and was thrown into prison, where he died in 1579. Some say that Blandrata's enmity was caused, not by theological differences, but by that spirit of revenge which is, in Europe, so emphatically regarded as the besetting sin of Italians, that it is

called *peccatum Italicum*. Blandrata soon after returned to Poland, and having amassed much wealth was strangled for its sake by his nephew. David's name is still held in profound veneration by the Transylvanians and he is regarded as the real founder of the Unitarian faith there.

The very early organization of the Unitarian church in Transylvania had an important influence on its ecclesiastical form. It has maintained many usages which are strange to us, whose churches have grown out of Presbyterianism or Congregationalism. It is governed by a consistory ; its chief pastor is a bishop. David himself was called *Episcopus Unitariorum in Hungaria* ; but the bishop is simply the Superintendent of the early church, and in every respect different from the bishop of the Anglican or Roman Catholic Church. So long as Transylvania was independent the fortunes of Unitarianism prospered ; it had 408 different churches and eleven high schools. But the princes soon became involved in intrigues with the courts of Paris and Vienna, and to serve the purposes of their policy, prince and nobles changed their confession and became now Catholic, now Calvinist, just as it suited their interests. If anything could reconcile us to the miserable state of the country at that time, it is the wonderful religious freedom enjoyed there during Turkish rule, so that one sees good ground for the statement made some years ago in Parliament by an English bishop, that if he had but the alternative of choice between residence in Turkey and Austria he would as a Protestant choose the first. The Jesuits had been introduced into Transylvania by Bishop Draskowitch, but had stirred up strife to such a degree that after a unanimous request of the States at the Diet, the king banished them in 1588. Soon after, the house of Hapsburg carried war into the country ; the general, Basta, burned the Protestant clergy on a pile constructed of their own books, nay, in his barbarity, he even flayed some of them alive ; and with the aid of a fanatical priesthood he brought Transyl-

vania to such a terrible famine that even human corpses were not safe before the gnawing hunger. Can we wonder that the Calvinist prince of Transylvania, Stephen Bocskai, called in the aid of the Mohammedans to defend Hungary against men who blasphemed the name of the Christian's God by associating it with such villainies? And can we wonder that the Turk despised the Christians who forgot the common danger in sectarian animosities? Agreements were made again and again between the Protestant princes of Transylvania and the Catholic rulers of Austria, only to be broken by the latter, until it became a proverb in Hungary, "*Ne hidj neki mert Papista,*"—"Trust him not, he is a Papist."

During all the years which followed under the reigns of the native princes, Bocskai, Sigismund, Rakoczis, Bathoris Bethlen and the Apaffis, the Calvinists, Unitarians, Catholics and Lutherans lived in peace side by side. But when, in 1690, Apaffy died, the land became an apanage of the Austrian crown, and though the Emperor Leopold by a solemn decree had sworn never to issue an edict by which the Protestants should be disturbed or hampered in the enjoyment of their religious rights and liberties, he was induced by the Jesuits to break his oath. This roused the Protestants to new rebellion under Rakoczy, and at the Diet of Onod (1707) Hungary was declared a republic, the four churches had equal rights restored to them, and the Jesuits were again banished. The war between Rakoczy and the Austrian Emperor Joseph I. was at last concluded by the peace of Szathmar (1711), in which England and Holland united in guaranteeing the liberties promised by Austria. But the Jesuits would not allow their prince, Charles VI., to keep faith with the Protestants. In the teeth of the Diploma of Leopold, the cathedral of Klausenburg which had since David's famous sermon, in 1568, belonged to the Unitarians, was forcibly taken from them in 1716 and given to the Catholics. Throughout all Transylvania the Unitarians were forcibly ex-

pelled from their churches. The land and houses with which the schools were endowed, not only by native princes, but also by charitable Unitarians were taken away ; their printing press was closed, the publication of their books forbidden, and they were excluded from all share in government offices. The Jesuits were again introduced, and settled in Klausenburg, Udvarhely, Alba Carolina, Herrmannstadt and Kronstadt, and so again it was proved that Christian liberty was safer under the rule of the Turk than under that of Austria.

If I were to recount to you the suffering endured by the Protestants under the reign of Charles the Sixth's daughter, Maria Theresa, the bare recital would fill volumes. When she made her son Joseph II. her partner in the government, this enlightened prince obtained through his Minister Kaunitz, a copy of a letter in Madrid, showing that the secrets imparted by Maria Theresa to her Father Confessor had been betrayed to the Queen's enemies.

Through all this persecution the little band of Unitarians in the Szekerland remain firm. Of them an old Hungarian chronicler had written that they were more severe in their morals than other Hungarians; and a Roman Catholic priest, writing to Vienna, was honest enough to confess that they possessed great economic virtues, were diligent, moral, orderly men, exemplary in the performance of their duties to the State. He however asked for their repression because their good lives were a recommendation of their detestable doctrines and a standing reproach to the impure lives of the Catholic priesthood. And he was wise in his generation. Men of pure heart and noble lives, energetic, united, seeking freedom less for its own sake than for the sake of doing God's work, they were sure to conquer the black brigade of the Pope in the long run. When Maria Theresa died and left her son, Joseph II., sole ruler in Hungary, he restored to the Protestants their rights, and although their property was still withheld from them, the self-denial and the generosity

of some of their wealthier members, especially of Ladislaus Suki and of Paul Augustinovics, enabled them to rebuild their schools and churches.

It was not until 1821 that the Unitarians of England had any direct communication with their Eastern brethren, who then had one hundred and twenty churches, each with its pastor and schoolmaster, administered by a consistory of which half the members were laymen, with a bishop and seven arch-deacons. In 1831 one of their number, Alexander Farkas visited Boston and sent an account of the Unitarian churches of Massachusetts to those of Transylvania. Then came the years 1844-45, when the German Catholics and the Unitarian members of the Protestant church endeavored to institute a national German church with such apparent success at first that they were congratulated by the Unitarians of England. The waves of this movement touched also Hungary, but were lost in the din of the revolution, when for a moment it seemed that Hungary had cast off at once the yoke of the Jesuit and the Hapsburg ruler. But it was not to be. The Bund held the country for a year. The brutal hordes of Russia were called in by cowardly Austria; the savage Vlachs, who in eighteen centuries have hardly advanced beyond the savagery in which the legions of Aurelian had left them, like bloodhounds, burned and sacked and murdered right and left. The terrible story is well told by Charles Brace in his account of his visit to Hungary in 1851, when the whole country lay exhausted and weakened under the brutal heel of the conqueror. The Protestant churches on the plains were all closed; the Hungarians said there could be no God if such injustice were permitted.

But not so among the Unitarian churches of the Szeklerland. Morning after morning, not on Sundays only, as in our fashionable churches of the West, but every day in the year for the last three hundred years, the service of prayer and praise had been carried on; and in these dark times, too, the grey-

haired Szekler yeoman, worn out by grief for the loss of his patriot boys, who lay dead it may be under the sod of Vilajos or were pining on the banks of the Thames and the Mississippi, could still pray: "Though Abraham turneth away his face from us and Israel acknowledge us not, Thou, Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer; that is Thy name from everlasting." While all the Protestant churches were objects of suspicion, these few Unitarian churches were especially feared as the altars at whose never-dying flame might be kindled and rekindled the sacred torch of liberty, no matter how often it might be quenched. In 1857 an attempt was made by the Austrian government to suppress their schools altogether by taking advantage of the great poverty of the Unitarians. The Szeklers made enormous sacrifices to save their schools, but could not obtain the required sum, till an Englishman, Mr. Paget, in 1857 made an appeal to London and Boston for it. Your financial crisis made American contributions impossible; the English raised enough to save the school, and in the nineteen years which have elapsed since then, some of the most promising students of that school have completed their studies at our expense in London. These people have since been visited by Rev. John James Tayler, of London, in 1868, by C. H. A. Dall, in the same year and by Morison, Steinthal and Hale. Last year they were represented by delegates at our jubilee in London, and I am glad to see among my audience to-night one Hungarian gentleman who was present at the International Unitarian Conference at Buda Pesth in 1873.

But the question may be put to me: What are these Unitarians now? Has their spiritual energy been petrified during their three hundred years of resistance to oppression, as in some other Protestant churches that we know, into mere ecclesiasticism; or is it still a vital inspiration in the nation's growth? Are these preachers merely representatives of some dead issue of a Socinian or anti-Trinitarian creed, or

are they in vital relation with the living issues of to-day? I went to Hungary with these questions on my mind. That they merely call themselves *Unitarians* is no great matter, for I have seen some churches that for the honor of our name I would gladly see blotted out; but I found them to be for Hungary all that the Unitarian churches of Massachusetts have been for the last fifty years. A brave, thoughtful, energetic, temperate set of men, still worthy of the praise which the old Hungarian chronicler gave to their Szekler forefathers, that the Szeklers are stricter in their morals than other Hungarians; or the Catholic priest to the Unitarians of the Seventeenth Century, they send from their humble cottages in the mountain-land, and from their simple schools, men well qualified to lead their nation onward in its new career.

A Hungarian novelist, Moritz Jokai, who, when his works are translated into English, will be regarded as one of the greatest modern novelists, not only for his artistic power, but also for the direct influence of his writings on the thought and life of his people, gives in his latest novel, "There is a God; or, the People who Love but Once," a strong testimony to the influence of their simple and earnest faith on the Transylvanian Unitarians of to-day.

And they do not, though an organized church, stand in any sectarian isolation from the other churches. They exercise a direct influence upon Lutheran, Calvinist and Catholic, and it is through them that one of the leading Calvinistic professors has introduced the works of James Freeman Clarke even into his churches, thus not keeping up sectarian animosities, but reviving that spirit of the Master which appears in countless philanthropic enterprises, in deeds of love and in all charitable associations and institutions.

Since Mr. Hale's visit to Hungary we have resolved on supporting two professors at their admirable college in Klausenburg. We need only \$1,250 each year for this purpose, and I would appeal to the charity of American Unitarians

to raise this small sum. Now while America is bearing aloft the banner of a nobler humanity on the western way to the far East, the iron road built along the line of march of the old Crusaders has made these Eastern Unitarians also pioneers of Western thought on the way to their cradle lands in Asia, and I would ask you to help in hastening the coming of that day which will come

“ When years have past,
When the truth grows clear at last,
When from vast cathedral pile,
When from far off coral isle,
Rises one united prayer,
Ringing through the ringing air ;
And that prayer the same the one
To the Father through the Son.”



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THREE CENTURIES AND A HALF

OF

UNITARIANISM IN HUNGARY

BY

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THREE CENTURIES AND A HALF OF UNITARIANISM IN HUNGARY.

Hungary should have a peculiar interest to Unitarians, for two reasons.

1. The name "Unitarian" had its origin there.
2. In Hungary is to be found the oldest existing body of organized Unitarian Christians. While the modern Unitarian movement cannot be said to have originated there, it is true that in Hungary it was first organized into an enduring church under the Unitarian name. This was in the period of the Protestant Reformation, soon after the death of Luther. Thus the Unitarian Church as such has had a history in Hungary fully three times as long as in any other land. What importance this fact gives to the study of Hungarian Unitarianism it is easy to see.

Where and what is Hungary? And who are the Hungarian people?

Hungary comes nearer than any other country to being the central land of Europe. It is off the main lines of travel for us in the West, and so is less known by us than most other European lands; but it is a large and interesting country, with an important history. It forms a part—the Eastern half—of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; and yet, as a fact, it is a distinct and in most respects a self-governing kingdom. It has an area fifteen times as great as Massachusetts, and contains nearly seven times as many inhabitants. Its capital city, Budapest, with nearly a million population, is one of the most enterprising and in every way finest cities of Europe.

Hungary is pre-eminently the land of the Danube, the greatest of European rivers outside of Russia. The vast plain of the Danube, of 40,000 square miles, one of the richest agricultural valleys in the world, lies within its borders.

In tracing the history of Unitarianism in Hungary we often come upon the name "Transylvania." Where and what is Transylvania? It is a very picturesque and charming mountain region east of the great Danubian plain, indeed in the extreme east of the land. It is a little larger than Switzerland, and is often called the "Switzerland of Hungary." This region is of particular interest to Unitarians because here the Hungarian Unitarian movement was born, and here it has run its principal career.

Who are the Hungarians? And what has been their history? Several races are represented in Hungary. There is a German-speaking population of two millions—an important element. There are five or six millions of Slavs and Rumans, nearly a million Jews, and many gypsies. But the dominant race is the Magyar, and the dominant language is the Magyar.

Who are the Magyars? They are a people originally Asiatic, whose nearest kin in Europe are the Finns. A part of them claim to have come into Europe in the fifth century with Attila, the great leader of the Huns, the King Etzel of the *Nibelungenlied*, the "Scourge of God" of the Romans. These call themselves Szeklers. But the great body of the Magyars seem to have migrated from Western Siberia into what is now Southern Russia in the ninth century, and a century later to have settled in their present abode. When they arrived in Hungary, they were a group of rude and warlike tribes, little disposed to a quiet life. They made marauding incursions into Italy and Germany, and were the terror of surrounding peoples. But, being defeated by the German kings, they settled down, and soon developed political institutions after Western models, and became an energetic, liberty-loving, proud-spirited, and important nation.

In the eleventh century they accepted Christianity. Situated in the very centre of the natural path of advance of the Ottoman Turks, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Hungary more than any other land became a breastwork to check the dread Moslem invasion. Again and again the tide of conquest was rolled back at the Hungarian border. If more than once it broke

over the barrier, swept across Transylvania and Hungary, and stopped not until it reached the gates of Vienna, it was not because there was lack of Magyar valor. But the advance was only temporary. Austrians, Poles, and Germans helped the Hungarians to achieve the final victory, but the brunt of the long and terrible struggle was borne by the Hungarians. To John Hunyadi, the national hero of Hungary, more than to any other man (more even than to the heroic Sobieski of Poland), was Europe indebted for salvation from its awful dread of the Turk and of Islam, a dread which for three hundred years, down to a time more than a century this side of Luther, hung like a black pall over all the countries between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean on the south and the British Channel and the Baltic on the north.

In Hungary the Protestant Reformation began early. Indeed, a century before Luther, Jerome of Prague came from Bohemia into Hungary and preached with much success the heretical doctrines of Huss and John Wiclif. This prepared the way for the reception later of the doctrines of the great German reformer, so that, when Luther began his work, a portion of the people of Hungary were among the first to welcome his message.

In 1521 Matthew Devay, who had been a student of Luther at Wittenberg, preached Luther's doctrine in the Hungarian city of Ofen. Soon there was similar preaching in other cities and towns. In 1529, Hermanstadt, in Transylvania, expelled the Roman Catholics. In 1530 Kronstadt declared for the Protestant faith. In 1540 Klausenberg (Kolozsvár), the Magyar capital, did the same. In 1544, two years before Luther's death, the whole "Saxon" (German) population of Transylvania, at the Synod of Medves adopted the Lutheran (Augsburg) Confession. Queen Isabella, the wife of King John Zapolya, favored the Protestants, and in a few years the Reformation had obtained a decided ascendancy in all Transylvania and Hungary. The first form of doctrine generally accepted was that of Luther. But a little later the "Reformed" doctrine of Calvin to a considerable extent supplanted the Lu-

theran, and became the more widely received of the two.

Meanwhile there was a decided tendency in many quarters toward forms of thought still more advanced and liberal than those of either Luther or Calvin. Indeed in nearly all the churches there were men who were beginning to doubt the Trinity, and to demand a more rational interpretation of the Bible than any form of orthodoxy allowed. This could have produced little in the way of outward results had it not been for the occurrence of an event of great importance. In the year 1568 a royal edict was issued in Transylvania granting freedom of conscience, speech, and worship to all the people. This created conditions favorable for the liberal cause.

It is difficult to tell who were the first promulgators of the new faith. Hancaro, an Italian, sowed some early and fruitful seed. In the year 1558 Thomas Aran, a Hungarian, wrote a book denying the doctrine of the Trinity. The earliest advocates of Unitarianism of much prominence were Blandrata* and Francis David.

Blandrata was an Italian physician, who, being compelled to leave Italy on account of his anti-Trinitarian view, had gone to Switzerland and then to Poland. In 1563 he came from Poland to Transylvania, where he was made physician-in-ordinary to the king, John Sigismund. He seems to have been a man of some intellectual brilliancy and of considerable persuasive power, and under his influence the king, the king's mother (Queen Isabella), and many nobles accepted the Unitarian faith.

About the same time, or a little earlier, Francis David began his work. David was one of the great men of the Reformation period, whose high qualities and important service to religion the world has been too long in finding out. He was in early life a Roman Catholic, but of a liberal type, as is seen by the fact that he went to Wittenberg, Luther's university, for three years of study. After his studies were completed he remained for a time in the mother church as a country schoolmaster

* Or Biandrata; there is authority for both spellings.

or curate. But neither the Catholic Church nor an obscure station could long retain a man with his great abilities, open mind, love of truth, and courage. Soon he identified himself with the Protestant faith, and became a preacher of the same in the capital city of the kingdom. Here he drew great multitudes to his ministry, and swayed the leading minds of the city and the nation by his eloquence. The Calvinistic churches made him their bishop. In addition to his pulpit work he gave great attention to education, and ere long was placed at the head of the college in Koloszvár. Thus every year his influence grew more powerful and wide-reaching.

In 1566 he took another step forward. He had become convinced of the truth of the Unitarian view, and from that time on he devoted himself to its advocacy by tongue and pen. The public effect of his change was very great. The Unitarian churches made him their bishop. Aided by the influence of the king and many of the nobles, the liberal cause advanced with amazing rapidity. It has been said that, when David changed to the Unitarian faith, Koloszvár and all Transylvania changed with him. Of course this is an extravagant statement, but it is true that in a very few years the new faith had become the dominant religion of the country, a position which it held for nearly half a century.

For ten years after he became bishop, David led the Unitarian movement with great success, directing its development, moulding its thought and life, inspiring it with zeal, courage and consecration, extending its influence and power, and then—a great tragedy came. A controversy arose over the question as to whether Christ ought to be made in any sense an object of worship. All agreed that he was not God, and ought not to be worshipped as God. But, since he was regarded by all as a very exalted being, the prevailing custom had been to render a sort of subordinate worship, much like that which in the Roman Catholic Church is rendered to Mary. At first David assented to this; but later he grew to feel that it was wrong, and condemned it. As

a result opposition sprang up, led by Blandrata. When Blandrata found that he himself could effect nothing, he sent to Poland, to Socinus, the most influential leader there, and brought him to labor with David. But David could not be moved, even by Socinus. The controversy deepened and grew bitter. At last articles were drawn up accusing David of innovation of doctrine, and on the basis of this accusation demanding his condemnation. King John Sigismund, the Unitarian, was now dead, and a Roman Catholic ruled in his place. David was condemned to imprisonment for life. Five months later he died in the dungeon at Deva to which he had been committed. In this tragic fashion ended the career of Francis David, the Luther, or better, the Channing, of Hungary. The party headed by Blandrata triumphed, but it was only for a time. Later the view maintained by David was accepted by the whole Unitarian body, and he who was driven by them to a martyr's death is to-day their beloved saint and honored hero.

The period of rapid growth and greatest prosperity of the Unitarian movement in Hungary came to an end with the death of Francis David, in the year 1579. However, the churches held their own fairly well for a generation longer. But difficulties began more and more to confront them. Rome determined to win back what she had lost. She employed all possible political and ecclesiastical agencies to this end. The Jesuits were her everywhere energetic, unscrupulous, and efficient tools. The powerful House of the Hapsburgs, which ruled in Austria, and after 1687 held possession of the crown of Hungary, was her willing servant. A period of repression and persecution set in which continued, with only brief intervals of respite, for two centuries. The Lutheran and Calvinistic churches suffered as well as the Unitarians, though to nothing like the same extent; and too often they were found joining hands with Rome against the more liberal movement, which they all alike feared and hated.

By a decree sanctioned in 1618, sixty-two churches were taken from the Unitarians and given to the Calvin-

ists. In 1693 the Unitarians of Klausenberg (Kolozsvár) were deprived of their schools. In 1716 their cathedral was seized. In 1721 the important church in Torda was taken, and in 1777 the strong church in Kronstadt. These were only a few of the injustices which they suffered. Not only were they forcibly expelled from their places of worship and schools, but they were robbed of the houses and lands with which their schools were endowed. Their printing presses were closed, and the publication of their books was prohibited. And, finally, all public offices were forbidden to them. Of course the object of this was to deprive the Unitarian churches everywhere of men of standing and influence, and to keep all persons of ability and ambition from joining them. These efforts to crush and exterminate the Unitarian movement went on for two centuries. A full history of the wrongs and sufferings inflicted upon the Protestants of Hungary during the reign of Maria Theresa alone (1740-80) would fill volumes.

These things continued until 1791, when there was a change for the better. Ten years earlier, under Joseph II., there had been a show of reform, but it had amounted to nothing. But in 1791 a statute was enacted granting equal liberties and rights in Transylvania to the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed (Calvinistic), and Unitarian Churches,—a statute which in 1848 was extended to all Hungary. With the enactment of this statute a new day of hope dawned for the Unitarians. True, the churches, schools, lands, and other property which had been taken from them were not restored, so that they were left still in extreme poverty. But it was much if from this time on they might have something of freedom and of equality with others before the law.

What had been the effects of the long period of persecution through which they had passed, extending from near the close of the sixteenth century to almost the end of the eighteenth? When the period began, there were in Transylvania and Hungary more than four hundred Unitarian churches, and thirteen high schools, and colleges. When it ended, all the colleges and high schools were gone but one, and the total number of Unitarian

communicants was reduced to 32,000. It is a proof of their heroism, endurance, and unsurpassed devotion to their faith that any remnant of an organized Unitarian movement survived. But, few in numbers and impoverished as they were, when freedom was at last within their possession, they began at once, with courage and faith, the heavy task of rebuilding their churches and schools. The progress they have made from that time to this has been great.

We must not think, however, that even the last century has been without severe hardships for them. In the struggle of the Hungarian people against Austria for freedom and national independence in 1848-49, under the leadership of Kossuth, the sympathy of the Unitarians was with their own countrymen. As a result, when Austria, with the help of the savage hordes of Russia, had put down the uprising, the Unitarians suffered severely from the brutal soldiery, who sacked and burned many of their homes and villages, and murdered men, women, and children without mercy.

Soon afterward came trials of a different kind. In 1850 and 1851 Austria tried to bribe the bishop of the Unitarians to betray his faith. What salary was he receiving? Less than \$260 a year! Wealth, advancement, and honors were offered him if he would enter the church favored by the government. But he was incorruptible. At any sacrifice he would be faithful to the truth as God had given him to see it, and share to the end the poverty and hardships of his brethren. What salaries were his brethren receiving? Professors in colleges,—learned and able men,—\$150 a year; pastors of the largest churches, from \$240 to \$125 a year! Failing in its attempts at bribery, the government tried a more insidious plan. In the year 1857 the poverty of the Unitarians was made a pretext for taking away their educational institutions. They were required to raise a sum of money which was believed to be altogether beyond their ability, for the purpose of increasing the equipment of their schools, or else they must surrender them—which meant their coming under the control of the Roman Catholics. Think of Unitarian schools controlled by

Jesuits,—“the very source of the country’s freedom and moral life, in the hands of the worst enemies of freedom that the modern world has known.” A cry of pain and terror arose in the land, and in every Unitarian church and home was the word spoken, “It must not be, it shall not be.” These heroic and devoted men and women mortgaged their lands; those who had savings gave them; those who could earn anything, however little, earned it and gave. The poor gave; and the rich? They had no rich! But they raised nearly \$67,000, a sum which has been declared to have cost them greater sacrifices than a million would have cost the Unitarians of America or England.

But even this sum was not enough. Still they would have lost their schools had not the Unitarians of England come to their rescue. An English Unitarian living in Hungary appealed to his brethren at home in their behalf. The matter was taken up earnestly by Rev. Edward Tagart, secretary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and others, and the sum of \$10,000 was raised, which Mr. Tagart carried personally to Hungary (1858). This effort of the English Unitarians saved the schools. It is easy to understand how deep was the gratitude of the Unitarians of Hungary to their English brethren for what they had done.

The Hungarian Unitarians now number more than 70,000. They have 112 fully organized churches with settled pastors, besides some 50 associated churches and missions. These are mostly in Transylvania: indeed only since 1848 have the preaching of Unitarianism and the organization of its adherents into churches been permitted in other parts of Hungary. But, within a few years past, societies have been established in the national capital, Budapest, and vicinity, and in several other localities.

The Hungarian Unitarians have always been deeply interested in education. From the Reformation down to the present day their practice has been to have a school in connection with each congregation. To-day, in addition to these elementary schools, they have three colleges for literary and scientific study, and one theological school

for the training of their ministers. Many eminent scholars and writers, preachers, public men, and leaders in the best thought and life of Hungary are in their ranks. They publish much Unitarian literature,—hymn and prayer-books, tracts, sermons, etc. They also publish three periodicals, *The Christian Seed Sower*, *The Unitarian Magazine*, and *The Woman's World*.

It seems a little strange to us who have always associated Unitarianism with a congregational or democratic form of church government, to learn that the Hungarian churches have a bishop. We have found them electing Francis David as their first bishop. From his day to the present the bishop's office has been continued. Their present bishop is Joseph Ferencz, a man of very superior qualifications for his important position, honored and beloved by all who know him, and said to be one of the three most eloquent preachers in Hungary. Though the title "bishop" is commonly employed by the Hungarian Unitarians, the legal title is "superintendent"; and as a fact the so-called bishop is exactly that,—a superintendent of the churches, inducted into his office by a form of solemn oath-taking, but with no ecclesiastical ceremony, and going among the churches, not to lord it over them, but to be the sympathetic adviser, friend, and helper of all.

The churches are governed by a "consistory," in which there is a large representation of laymen. The consistory meets annually, and once in four years there is a synod. At these meetings there are two presiding officers, the bishop and a layman. While the general organization of the churches is somewhat less democratic than we of the West prefer, it is elastic, it is very efficient, and it appears to be in vital touch with the people.

Mention has been made of the generous help extended by the Unitarians of England to their Hungarian brethren in the years 1857 and 1858, when the schools of the latter were in danger. It may be recalled in this connection that there was a pathetic interest added to the visit of Mr. Tagart to Hungary, by the fact that he never reached home, but died on his return journey. Since that event the relations of the churches of the two coun-

tries have been of the most cordial and intimate character. England's first benefaction was not her last. She has continued to lend a helping hand to Hungary's needs in various ways, financial and other.

Mr. Tagart's visit has been followed by many others, some of the better known of the visitors having been Rev. S. A. Steinthal of Manchester; Rev. J. J. Tayler, principal of Manchester New College; Rev. Alexander Gordon; Sir James Clarke Lawrence; Rev. Henry Ireſon, secretary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association; Rev. Vance Smith; and in 1901 a party of twenty-seven persons,—seventeen gentlemen, seven of whom were ministers, and ten ladies, the leader of the party being Miss M. L. Tagart, daughter of the man who forty-three years before lost his life in the service of his Hungarian brethren. Many of these visits have been in connection with important events in the history of Hungarian Unitarianism, as the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the death of Francis David, the opening of the fine new college building in Kolozsvár, and the dedication of the new church in the national capital. Most of the visitors made more or less extended tours through Transylvania and other parts of Hungary, visiting important places, and everywhere being received with demonstrations of highest regard and warmest welcome.

Soon after the death of Mr. Tagart a scholarship was established in his honor by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, with the object of bringing Hungarian students to England to receive, free of expense, advanced theological training at Manchester New College, London (now Manchester College, Oxford). By means of this scholarship, which came into operation in 1860, fifteen different Hungarian students have already been enabled to take a course of two or three years each in the college. The results have been the very best. These young men have gone back to their own land to do a far larger and more influential work as pastors, preachers, educators, and public leaders than would have been possible except for their invaluable years in London and Oxford.

Good deeds always tend to create other good deeds. In 1892 Miss Emily Sharpe, seeing the excellent results

of this Hungarian scholarship for young men, decided to do something similar for young women. The result was an arrangement whereby a succession of Hungarian young lady students might be maintained at the Channing House High School for Girls in London, each student to remain two years, and then to be followed by a successor. Six young ladies have already enjoyed the benefit of this course of training, to the great satisfaction of all concerned. It is a beautiful form of help extended by one of the most generous of London's Unitarian women to her sisters in a distant land.

For many years the relations between the Unitarians of Hungary and those of America have been intimate. In 1882 Prof. Kovacs, of the Theological College in Kolozsvár, visited this country, spending six months here, attending the National Unitarian Conference at Saratoga, and preaching and lecturing extensively. Since then Prof. Boros of the same college has visited us. Mr. John Fretwell has done much to call the attention of American Unitarians to the history and needs of Hungary. Many American Unitarians have made visits to Hungary, among the number being Rev. C. H. A. Dall, Dr. Edward Everett Hale, Rev. Robert S. Morison, Rev. J. H. Allen, Rev. S. J. Barrows, Rev. W. H. Lyon, Dr. J. T. Bixby, and Rev. T. C. Williams. The latest visitor was Rev. Charles E. St. John, in 1905. America has also shown an interest in Hungary in still more substantial ways. The American Unitarian Association has appropriated money for the publication of Channing's Works in the Hungarian language, and otherwise has furnished considerable financial aid to the practical work of the Hungarian Unitarians. Most important of all, Americans have endowed two professorships in the College of Kolozsvár, one of these in honor of Channing, the money being furnished through the American Unitarian Association, and the other, the "Anna Richmond Professorship," established by Mrs. Richmond of Providence, R.I.

The people of America will never forget how deeply they were stirred by the visit of Kossuth to this country, and by the story of the heroic struggle for political liberty made by the Hungarian people under his leadership.

But the Protestants of Hungary, especially the Unitarians, have carried on a struggle for religious liberty quite as heroic, and not for a few brief months only, but ever since the time of Francis David in the sixteenth century. We may well regard it as a privilege and an honor to be brought into fraternal relations with such a people; and, if in any way we have been able to give them help in their times of need, we may well be grateful. Such benefaction

"is twice blessed:

It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes."

I have said that the Unitarian name originated in Hungary. When and how?

1. The name appears for the first time as the recognized title of a religious body in the year 1568. The circumstances were as follows: In 1557 the Diet of Thorda in Transylvania passed an edict (ratified in 1563) granting universal freedom of worship. About the same time, perhaps as a result of the edict, the various religious bodies of the land united together for purposes of toleration, formed a league or union of toleration, pledging themselves not to persecute or trouble one another. Those who thus united or entered into this union were called "The United," or "Unitarians." Thus the name seems at first to have signified simply fraternity or unity, and to have had no reference to any theological belief. But the union formed did not long continue. Those who asserted the doctrine of the Trinity soon withdrew; and, because their withdrawal was on account of their belief, they were called "Trinitarians," while those who remained (such as accepted the unity of God, but not the Trinity) retained the original name, "Unitarians," and voluntarily adopted it as their own.

2. The name "Unitarian" occurs again in the same year (1568) in an account of a controversy between Francis David and Peter Melius, a distinguished Calvinist.

3. Prof. Boros of Hungary says that the name is first found as the recorded title of a legalized religion in the first article of a diet held at Szekfalva in 1600. Soon after that date it came into general use in Transylvania and

Hungary. All employment of the name in countries outside of these is much later.

The Unitarian movement in Hungary is of peculiar interest because it has had so long a history there. In England and America (the only other countries in which there is any considerable body of churches bearing the Unitarian name) the movement is of recent origin. In Hungary it has existed long enough to reveal its real nature. How has it stood the long test of three hundred and fifty years? What kind of fruit has it borne? In large part the answers to these questions are already before us, but a few further words may be added.

From its beginning the Unitarian movement in Hungary has allied itself with intelligence and knowledge, with progress and enlightenment. It has fostered education. Its schools have always been among the best.

It has always been on the side of both political and spiritual freedom. It has led in the long struggle for religious toleration. It has advocated and demanded liberty of conscience. Even when it had power in its hand, as it did in the latter part of the sixteenth century, it did not persecute, nor did it declare the supremacy or dominance of its own belief over the beliefs of others, but it granted equal liberty to all.

There is no better test of a religion than the moral influence which it exerts, the character that it produces in its adherents, the manhood and womanhood that it creates. Unitarianism in Hungary invites the application of this test. Charles Loring Brace, in his book, "Hungary in 1851," written after a careful study of the country and its people, speaks with especial admiration of the high character of the Unitarians. He remarks upon the exceptional purity of their home life, and the almost total abstinence of crime among them, and points out that, while all around them 75 per cent. of the people can neither read nor write, every Unitarian child can do both. The Unitarians have been well described as "a brave, energetic, temperate people, still worthy of the praise which the old chronicler gave, that they are stricter in their morals than other Hungarians." One historian records that a Roman Catholic priest, writing to the

government in Vienna against the Unitarians, was honest enough to confess their virtue and high character, but asked to have them repressed on the ground that "their good lives were a recommendation of their detestable doctrines, and a standing reproach to the impure lives of the Catholic priesthood."

We sometimes hear it declared that the Unitarian faith is wanting in power to create enthusiasm, consecration, self-sacrifice, heroism. What has Hungary to say to this? Its long history denies the declaration. It shows that this faith has been the unfailing creator of the noblest possible of enthusiasms, self-sacrifices, and heroisms. It has carried thousands of men and women unfalteringly through the severest possible hardships and sufferings, often including the loss of life itself.

It is sometimes said that the Unitarian faith does not reach the heart, and lacks power to create a deep and rich piety. The very opposite of this has proved to be true in Hungary. Through all its history the piety which it has inspired has been warm, earnest, and living. And it has not been a mere Sunday piety, but one active all the week. In many of the Unitarian churches of Transylvania not a single day has passed for three centuries without its public service of prayer and praise. And in the farming districts it is common for the church bells to ring at five or even four o'clock on summer mornings, even when work is most pressing, to call the people to their places of worship for a prayer and a hymn before going forth to the labors of the day. The Unitarians of Hungary have produced an extensive and rich devotional literature, and this literature finds considerable circulation and use among religious communions outside of their own. This tells the story. No people lacking in sincere and deep piety ever write the devotional literature of an age or a land.

Such, then, in brief, is the testimony which three centuries and more of history in Transylvania and Hungary have to offer as to the nature of Unitarian Christianity; and its power to bear the fruits of a high, pure, and noble religion.

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